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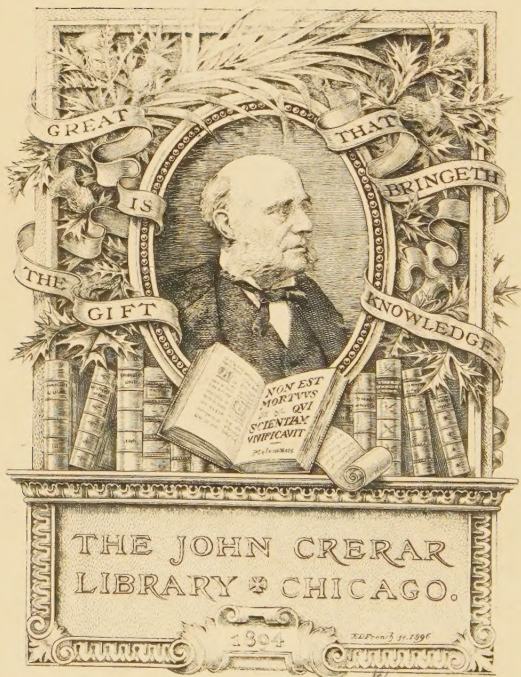
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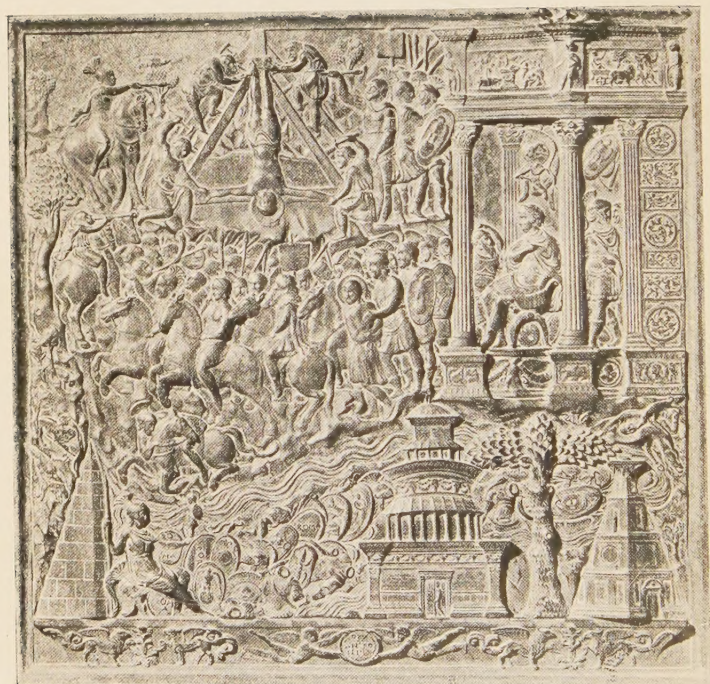
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THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN
IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES
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THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PETER

Door of St. Peter's, A.D. 1417

Frontispiece
(Page 85)

STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY

THE IMPORTANCE OF
WOMEN IN ANGLO-
SAXON TIMES; THE
CULTUS OF ST. PETER AND ST.
PAUL; AND OTHER ADDRESSES

copy
BY THE *author*
RT. REV. G. F. BROWNE, D.D.

FORMERLY BISHOP OF BRISTOL
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

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THE
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THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN IN ANGLO-
SAXON TIMES.

THE CULTUS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

THE EARLY CONNECTION BETWEEN THE
CHURCHES OF BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE SEE OF CREDITON, A.D. 909.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

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CONTENTS

THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES

PART I

Women among the early Teutonic and Celtic peoples—The Picts, according to Bede—Women's share in conversions to Christianity—Education of Anglo-Saxon princesses—Royal Abbesses and Prioresses—Hilda as the trainer of Bishops—Elflaed at the Council on the Nidd—Double monasteries ruled by women, Barking, Whitby—Hilda as the foundress of English Sacred Song Page 11

PART II

Double monasteries: Castor, Wimborne—Leoba at Wimborne, at Fulda—Other Anglo-Saxon women in important positions in Germany under Boniface of Crediton—Walpurga—Eichstätt—The miraculous oil—The witch-night dance—The later life of Leoba—Correspondence with Boniface 27

THE CULTUS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL

PART I

A Roman Catholic Pastoral—The Blessed Virgin and St. Peter in Early England—Veneration of the Virgin Mary—Heterodox assertions—Dedication of churches to the Virgin—Wilfrith—Silence of the three Popes—The Patronage of St. Peter—Cadwalla and Ina of Wessex at the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul—The presence of the bodies of the twin Apostles the commanding attraction of Rome—The grave errors of the Pastoral—The case of Canute—Extortion at the Roman Court—Coenred of Mercia and Offa of the East Saxons—Dedication of early churches to St. Peter—Erroneous assertions of the Pastoral—The Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury—Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Worcester, London—The southern

6780

WITHDRAWN

province dedicated to St. Paul; the northern to St. Peter—Other dedications—Dedications of 433 churches in Kent—Wighard and the *limina Apostolorum*—The Pope sends relics of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul—Wilfrith's testimony to the twin attraction of Rome—Aldhelm at the *limina Apostolorum*—Pope Paul I and the Protectors of England, Peter and Paul—Testimony of Gregory of Tours—St. Peter and St. Paul at Selsey Page 40

PART II

The Roman Service-books—St. Chrysostom—*Limina Apostolorum*—Papal Bulls—The Edict of Donation of Constantine—The Donation of Pepin and the Letter from Heaven—Prudentius—Aldhelm—Bede—Boniface—The Churches and Relics of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome—The brazen doors of St. Peter's—Irish Pilgrims to Rome—Columba's Song of Lament—The Irish Martyrologies—The Russian Liturgy—Recognition of three Primary Patrons by the Church of the English—The real claim on England as stated by the Pope—The Popes the Vicars of St. Peter and St. Paul 67

THE EARLY CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CHURCHES OF BRITAIN AND IRELAND

PART I

Agricola—First mentions of Britain in the Irish Annals—Ninian—Palladius—Ogam inscriptions in Wales—St. Patrick—Mochta of Louth—Other Britons in Ireland—Maidubh and Malmesbury—Irish monks at Selsey . . . 90

PART II

Maidubh and the School of Malmesbury—Carthach and the School of Rahan—Aldhelm's correspondence with Irish teachers—Irish students at the lectures of Archbishop Theodore—King Aldfrith a student in Ireland—Irish on his mother's side—His poem on his Irish travels—The great plague—Adamnan—Ecgbert and missions to the pagans—The schools frequented by English students—Irish clergy in England—English refugees in Ireland—St. Oswald—Mercia—Christianity restored among the East Saxons—Influence of early Ireland on our Coronation Service 109

THE SEE OF CREDITON, A.D. 909

Eadulf the first Bishop of Crediton and six other Bishops— The divisions of the Wessex dioceses—William of Malmesbury's account—Intervention of Pope Formosus— Examination of the statement—Plegmund's action— Explanation found in the Anglo-Saxon lists of Bishops— Table shewing successive sub-divisions of the See of the West Saxons—The story of Pope Formosus—Dunstan's letter to King Ethelred—Plegmund's doubtful position— Letter from Formosus to the Bishops of England—Boniface of Crediton and his nephews and niece—The Bishops in Cornwall—Profession of Obedience to Canterbury by Bishop Kenstec—Transference of the See of Crediton to Exeter	Page 129
---	----------

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

PART I

Birth and name—Grecised German names—The time was ripe for Erasmus—His career—Important English pupils —Oxford—Praise of England—Foxe, Fisher, More, and Prince Henry—Cambridge—Henry VIII's letter—Descriptions of Henry VIII by Erasmus and Falieri—Erasmus's letter on leaving England—Praise of Warham, of England, of English Bishops—The Scotists—Bishop Fitzjames—Erasmus's flattery—Colet—More's horse—Further visits to England—Erasmus's wealth—His writings—The Adages, examples.	154
---	-----

PART II

Writings—"The Praise of Folly"—Dialogue between the Pope and St. Peter—Von Hutten's Letters of Obscure Persons—First edition of the New Testament—Paraphrases of the Books of Scripture—Colloquies—Immense extent and sale of Erasmus's writings—The Greek text of the New Testament—The Complutensian Polyglot—Indistinctness of reading the Services—More's epigram—Ludicrous arguments from the Latin text of the Scriptures—"Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it"—Erasmus on Luther and the Bull against him—Erasmus's experience of the Reformation in Bâle—Contemporary account of the Reformation in the Engadine—Erasmus applied the poultice, Luther the knife	174
--	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE BRAZEN DOORS OF ST. PETER'S—

1. MARTYRDOM OF ST. PETER	<i>Frontispiece</i>
2. MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL	<i>Page 85</i>
BILITERAL AND BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION IN WALES	<i>„ 95</i>

THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES

PART I

Women among the early Teutonic and Celtic peoples—The Picts, according to Bede—Women's share in conversions to Christianity—Education of Anglo-Saxon Princesses—Royal Abbesses and Prioresses—Hilda as the trainer of Bishops—Elflaed at the Council on the Nidd—Double monasteries ruled by women, Barking, Whitby—Hilda as the foundress of English Sacred Song.

THE position assigned to women by Tacitus in the Teutonic tribes of which he treats in his history and description of Germany is remarkable. In many of the tribes the chief deity was a goddess, worshipped with very reverential care. Women had much to do with questions of embarking upon war. Their presence on or near the field of battle inspired their men. They received and tended the wounded, and one of Tacitus's phrases in this connection may be taken to mean that they expected their men to have wounds to be tended. In time of peace the men in some of the tribes left to the women the management and the work of the farms which provided their means of support. It seems clear, too, that while the tribes worshipped a goddess, the men of the tribes ascribed to their women some mysterious force of insight and foresight. "They conceive," Tacitus says, "that in woman is a certain uncanny and prophetic sense: they neither scorn to consult them nor slight their answers." Tacitus is not

a good guide in German history or geography, but his references to the position of women appear to be based upon observed facts.

So much for the Teutonic strain that is in the English race. These very ancient strains always keep on showing themselves. The Teutonic strain was very strong in the Anglo-Saxon people, nowhere stronger than in the recognition of the ability and power of women.

Even more marked than among the Teutonic and Frisian races was the recognition of women in the early Celtic races, whose blood—somewhat diluted—is in our veins. Plutarch tells us of the Celtæ that they were, from very early times indeed, firm believers in the wisdom of their women. The Celtæ had been exceedingly quarrelsome—in those very early times at least—and tribe with tribe they had engaged in internecine warfare. But at length the women took the matter up. They showed their wisdom by never desisting from their importunities till civil wars and dissensions were laid at rest. Long after, when Hannibal made a league with the Celtæ—we are still two hundred years before the coming of Christ—he found this firm belief in the wisdom of the Celtic women as clear and practical as ever. This was the article which the Celts put into the conditions: “If the Celtæ have complaints against the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian commander in Spain shall judge it. But if the Carthaginians have anything to lay to the charge of the Celtæ, it shall be brought before the Celtic women.”

To come down to historic times, after our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had settled in this island, the people in Bernicia, the northern part of the kingdom of

Northumbria which reached to the south shore of the Forth and included the fortress now known as Edinburgh, had as their immediate neighbours the Pictish people of the eastern half of Caledonia. There was only the estuary of the Forth between them. They had much to do with each other, both in peace and in war. One of the brothers of the Bernician kings Oswald and Oswy, Eanfrith by name, the oldest of the three, married a Pictish princess, and, by a remarkable Pictish law or custom, her son by him, named by the people Tolarg mac-Anfrith, became King of the Picts, as Talorgain, dying when his first cousin, King Ecgfrith of Bernicia, whom the succeeding king of the Picts defeated and slew in Forfarshire, was a man of twenty.

This remarkable custom was, that among the Picts of Caledonia succession to the kingdom was by mother-right, not father-right. The custom was intended to ensure, as far as might be, that any one who was raised to the kingdom had in him the royal blood, whoever his father might or might not be. The existence of such a custom of descent among their nearest neighbours must have tended to enhance the esteem in which the Northumbrians held their women. It added yet another to the strain that came from ancestors further off, for if royal people intermarried with Pictish ladies, no doubt ordinary people did too. One curious result is that in the long list of Pictish kings there is said to be not one whose father's name, when it is known, is the same as that of his predecessor on the throne.

The explanation of the origin of the custom, which Bede gives, brings in the inhabitants of the north of Ireland as contributory factors, the people from whom

so many of the Caledonians descended, and whose blood flows in so many fortunate English people to-day. Bede states the origin of the custom as the Pictish and Irish of his time believed it to be—*ut perhibent*, as the story goes. We may explain that the Scythia of which Bede speaks, is the northern part of the Scandinavia peninsula in Bede's geography. In his remarks on 2 Kings xx. 9, the twenty-fifth of the thirty difficult passages in the four Books of the Kings which Nothelm begged him to explain, "shall the shadow go forward ten degrees or go back ten degrees?" he describes what happens to the sun in *ultima Thule*, beyond Britain, or in the furthest parts of the Scythæ.

The first of the Picts who reached the British Isles, coming from Scythia, had landed first in Ireland, he tells us; but the Irish told them there was a land, visible on a clear day, uninhabited, and they had better go and take possession of that. The Picts took their advice, and settled in Caledonia. But they had no women with them, and after a time they went back to the Irish, who had advised them so well, and begged for permanent advisers, in the shape of wives. The Irish gave them wives, but only on the condition that if ever there was a doubt as to succession, the son of a female member of the family in which the right was should be preferred to the son of a male member. That is quite romantic enough for Hibernian gallantry, but of course it is not the real explanation of a fact which is common to the Picts and some savage races. But the fact that it is not the real explanation would not tend to lessen the probable influence of the story on the minds of the near neighbours of the Picts.

We can now pass on, from considering the blending

of strains in the building up of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, to the evidence of the actual position of women among them.

The first place must be given to their work and influence in the conversion of pagan kings and kingdoms to Christianity. Of this we have an example descending in one line from one generation to another in a curious way, perhaps not generally known to its full extent. It may seem a far cry to Clovis, the first Christian king of his section of the Franks, but in fact we have to begin there. He had married, in 493, Clotilde, a Christian princess of Burgundy, who tried hard to make him a Christian, but without success. At the crisis in a critical battle he vowed that if Clotilde's God would help him he would become His worshipper and be baptized, for his own gods had not come to his help, and he could no longer believe in their power. In the result, he was baptized. His grandson's daughter, Bertha, it was who 100 years later married Ethelbert of Kent, and had a place of Christian worship for herself at Canterbury before Augustine came. Her daughter, again, Ethelburga, it was who married Edwin, King of Northumbria, and had a place of Christian worship for herself before Edwin and his people were converted by Paulinus. And *her* daughter's daughter, Elflaed, it was who married Peada of Mercia and took with her the priests who converted the middle parts of England. Thus in one line, in seven generations beginning with Clotilde, there were four women, through each of whom a nation was converted to Christ. That is a striking record of 160 years of family descent in a straight line.

To a certain extent we can parallel this from the early history of Ireland. The greatest of Patrick's

successes with the pagan rulers turned upon the presence of British princesses. Loigaire, the high king of Ireland through the whole of Patrick's life in Ireland, had a British wife. His son, Phelim, also had a British wife, and her son Fortcherrn—a suspiciously Romano-British name, practically Vortigern—was the first convert to Christianity on the banks of the Boyne.

The queens and princesses of the several kingdoms in England shewed to a very remarkable degree the desire for religious education and the religious life. From the earliest Christian time of the Angles and Saxons here we see this feature of their character appearing prominently. Before they had monastic institutions for the purposes of education in their own kingdoms, they went, or sent their young relatives, to monasteries in Gaul to be instructed. There were three of these establishments, especially, to which English girls were sent ; so Bede tells us in writing of Earcongota, granddaughter of Eadbald, King of Kent. This king died in 640, having succeeded his father Ethelbert in 616, and having for a time gone back into paganism, and taken for his wife, in accordance with the pagan practice of his race, his father's young widow, whom Ethelbert had married after the death of Bertha. Eadbald's son and successor in Kent, Earconbert, reigned from 640 to 667. He was a firm Christian, and he has the honour of being recorded as the first of the English kings who by his royal authority ordered all the idols throughout his kingdom to be destroyed, and the fast of the forty days to be observed ; a quaint juxtaposition, in one and the same sentence of Bede, of putting down idols and setting up the Lenten fast. His wife Sexberga was a prominent Christian lady, who later in life ruled, as we shall see, the great Abbey

of Ely. Earconbert and Sexberga sent their daughter Earcongota to the "monastery of Fara": that is, in one compound word, Faramoustier, which was for long a famous Benedictine nunnery. This nunnery, near Meaux, was founded about 617 by Fara, or Burgundofara, sister of St. Faron of Meaux. It was originally of the Columbanian order, but before the foundress's death it became Benedictine. Bathildis, Queen of Clovis II, herself an Englishwoman, added largely to its endowments. With racial rigour, we soon provided rulers and teachers as well as students. The second abbess was Saetrudis, the daughter of Heresuith, a Northumbrian royal lady, sister of Hilda; and the third, Ethelburga, was daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles, and his second wife, who was this same Heresuith. Heresuith herself died at Faramoustier. Thus the connection with England was very close. One of the other nunneries mentioned by Bede, as usual places of education for English girls, was Andeley, twenty miles from Rouen, founded by Clothilde, the wife of Clovis I and ancestress of the Kentish line. It is a well-known place, on the right bank of the Seine. But the most frequented of all was Chelles, about four miles from Paris, on the banks of the Marne, a nunnery founded by Bathildis—born, as we have seen, in England—Queen of Clovis II, who was the second foundress of Faramoustier; one of that remarkable series of dominant queens, with so much in them that was bad, and in one or two cases so much that was good, who exercised irresponsible supremacy in the domains of their husbands, the dregs of the Merovingians. It was to Chelles that Hilda had intended to go in her early youth, a good many years before Earcongota; probably about 633, when her uncle Edwin, the

King of Northumbria, was killed and his kingdom relapsed into paganism. But the foundation by Bathildis had not then taken place, and Hilda's visit would have been made to the smaller nunnery, as founded by Clothilde, Queen of Clovis I. As refounded by Bathildis it was Columbanian for a time, and its sisters wore the Columbanian attire, a white robe with a variegated under-garment, no doubt a very effective dress. I do not know whether the Scots—Scottish Scots or Irish Scots—claim that Columbanus, who was himself an Irish Scot, merely dressed his nuns in tartan petticoats, and added the white robe over all. It is curious and interesting to find that 1250 years ago those of our English ancestors who could afford it sent their daughters to Paris to be educated. It sounds very modern.

These were the principal schools for the girls of the earliest Anglo-Saxon Christian period. It was not only those who were to become nuns that were sent there, though that no doubt was the lot of many. Others were sent with no view to what was called the religious life, that is the monastic life ; they were sent, according to one phrase used of them, to learn the highest virtue and comprehensive or cumulated virtue. This I suppose means that their education was essentially religious, and included learning in sundry branches ; a wide general education, on strictly religious lines. If that is the meaning of the phrase, the education was worth going to France to obtain.

The passion for the religious life, combined with serious study, increased and spread rapidly among our ancestresses. One of the kings of the East Angles, Anna, who converted the King of the West Saxons to Christianity and reigned in East Anglia from 635 to

654, had four daughters who were abbesses or nuns. One is very well known, Etheldreda, who persuaded, or rather forced, her second husband, Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, to let her take the veil at Coldingham, and the next year founded the Abbey of Ely on her first husband's property, which abbey she ruled till her death. Another, Sexberga, was Queen of Earconbert whom we have mentioned; she succeeded Etheldreda as Abbess of Ely. Another was Ethelberga, whom we have seen as Abbess of Faramoustier. Another was yet a third Abbess of Ely. Etheldreda's first nunnery, Coldingham, had as its abbess Ebba, King Ecgfrith's aunt, sister of King Oswy and of St. Oswald. But, indeed, it would take far too much time to go into the evidences of the wide spread of the desire among royal ladies in England to rule monasteries as places of religious education.

St. Hilda's work may be taken as an indication of what women could do and did in those days. She became a Christian at the same time as her near relative, King Edwin of Northumbria. It is a striking fact, often overlooked in the stories of Hilda, that she was brought up a pagan. There is a curious little note of Bede's which shows that even in a later generation than hers the remembrance of the practice of paganism was personal. Hilda's nephew, son of her sister Hereswith already mentioned, was King of the East Angles. This nephew, Aldwulf, was a contemporary of Bede, and used to tell that he remembered as a boy his great-uncle Redwald's compromise between Christianity and paganism. King Redwald had been baptized on a visit to Kent; but when he got home he was after a time seduced from the faith by his wife and certain perverse teachers. It was not all Anglo-Saxon

queens that favoured the change from pagan rites—and liberties—to Christianity. We do not know who this lady was ; not even her name is recorded. And so Redwald had, in one and the same temple, an altar for the Christian sacrifice and a little altar for sacrificing to demons. A good many of us in these days keep a little private altar for that purpose.

Hilda had gone down to East Anglia, on her way to Chelles—Cale, as Bede's Latin calls it, one of the many words which make it so difficult to see how mediæval and modern spelling and pronunciation came from the Latin, if the Latin was pronounced with broad vowels. But Bishop Aidan called her back to the north, gave her some land at the mouth of the Wear, and admitted her a nun. She was not the first nun in Northumbria ; that primacy being held by Heiu, who also received the veil from Aidan. After a year's experience she succeeded Heiu as Abbess of Hartlepool, where the earliest Christian cemetery in these islands has been found, with the names of the nuns of Hilda's time, and down to about 750, cut in runes and in Anglian letters on the little stone pillows under their heads, adorned with ornamental crosses. She at once reduced this monastery to regular order, as she had been instructed by learned men ; for Aidan and other religious frequently visited and diligently instructed her, having the warmest regard for her innate wisdom and her love for the Divine servitude.

After some years she founded an abbey at the place we call Whitby. There she established at once regular discipline. She taught justice, piety, chastity, and other virtues, but especially peace and charity ; so that after the manner of the primitive Church no one there was poor, no one rich, but all was common to all.

Her prudence was so great that kings and princes sought counsel of her. She made those under her study so carefully the Holy Scriptures, and practise so diligently the works of justice, that very many of them were found fit to undertake the service of the altar. Indeed, no less than five of the men trained in the monastery under her superintendence became Bishops—Bosa of York, Haeddi of Dorchester, Oftfor of Worcester, John (of Beverley) of Hexham who ordained Bede, and Wilfrid II of York, the predecessor of Archbishop Egbert. It must be remembered that at that time there were at most fourteen bishops in England. The great synod of Whitby was held in her abbey, one of the most striking events in the history of the English Church; itself brought about by the firmness of women, namely the Queen and her ladies, in their observance of what had then become the Catholic rule for the incidence of Easter, as opposed to the rule observed by the King. And on one other great occasion her abbey was probably used as a meeting-place of the chief persons of the realm. The story of her devoted work through the last six years of her life, under continuous and great bodily affliction, is well worthy of study and reflection, and—if possible—of imitation.

I must only mention one other example of the position and influence of women, at a time when we might have supposed that men of arms were more likely counsellors and confidants. When Aldfrith, King of Northumbria, was dying at Driffeld in 705, he summoned to his bedside among others Elflaed, now Abbess of Whitby, consecrated to God as an infant by her father, King Oswy, in thanksgiving for his victory over the pagans. With her he summoned Oedilburga,

Abbess of Hackness, whose beautiful monument with its tender expressions of love, *mater amantissima, semper te ament memores domus tui*, is still to be seen in priceless fragments in Hackness Church. To them he gave his last words, which, according to a practice continued to the Confessor's time, were regarded as what we call the last will and testament. After a time one of the greatest of the early English synods on record was held on the banks of the Nidd. Berthwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, was there, with the Northern Bishops; the princes and chief men were there; and Elflaed was there, ever the consoler and best counsellor of the whole province, as the Latin account describes her. The question was, the ecclesiastical position of Wilfrith. Aldfrith, in his lifetime, had opposed Wilfrith, who was an uneasy person at close quarters though delightful at a distance. Nightingales, Fuller said of him, sing sweetest far from home. At a critical point in the debate the Abbess Elflaed rose. The Bishops had spoken their last word against Wilfrith:—

“How can we (they had asked conclusively), how can any one, alter that which Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory, and Ecgrith the King, and the Bishops, decreed? How alter that which later, at Austerfield, in thy most excellent presence, Archbishop, we, and with us almost all the Bishops of Britain, with King Aldfrith, decided?”

When they had thus given their conclusion, Elflaed rose and said:—

“As the truth is in Christ, I declare the testament of Aldfrith the King in that illness which ended his life. He vowed a vow to God and St. Peter, in these

words : ‘ If I live I will carry out the judgments of the Apostolic see respecting Blessed Wilfrith the Bishop, which hitherto I have refused to carry out. But if I die, say ye to my heir, my son, in the name of God, that for the remedy of my soul he carry out the apostolic decision respecting Wilfrith the Bishop.’ ”

Thereupon the Prince next in authority to the young King declared that it was the wish of the King and Princes to obey the mandates of the Holy See and this testamentary injunction of the late King. The Bishops thereupon consulted apart, now with Archbishop Berthwald, now with the most wise virgin Elflaed, and then—they gave in.

Some years before this, in 694, five Kentish abbesses were present at the Council of Beckenham, and signed the decrees above all the presbyters.

We may now turn to another important feature of women’s work in matters monastic and educational. We find that among the Anglo-Saxons there were from the earliest Christian times double monasteries, for women and for men, ruled over by able women. I have not found record of a double monastery ruled by a man.

We have an early example, both of a double monastery and of an educational establishment, among the East Saxons, that is, the Londoners.

The famous bishop St. Erkenwald, before he became Bishop of the East Saxons in 675, enabled his sister, Ethelberga, to found the nunnery of Barking, which gained a high reputation as a training place. I wish there were time to tell some of the pretty stories which Bede tells of the faithful servants of God who lived

under her rule at Barking and died there in his own lifetime. One fact which he mentions is interesting from an educational point of view. The sisters had in charge a little boy, of about three years of age, not more. Bede explains that because he was still so young he was educated among the nuns. Thus we have evidence of the very early age at which education began, early even for a kindergarten, and also of young boys being educated by women. After no inconsiderable experience of educational affairs, I am convinced that this latter principle calls for further development in our own times. The preparation of boys for a public school life might with great advantage be put into the hands of women with University training.

The evidence that Barking was a double monastery and was ruled absolutely by the abbess is found in Bede's History. It is merely a passing reference to what Bede evidently regarded as the obvious arrangement.

When the great pestilence came, a plague which Bede says he has often mentioned, thus assigning the very early date of 664 to the event he is describing, it seized first on that part of the monastery where the men were kept, and they were daily carried off to meet the Lord, Ethelberga asked the congregation of nuns, dwelling apart from the men, where they would wish a cemetery to be prepared for the reception of their bodies when the plague should in turn invade their—the women's—part of the monastery. The answer was given by a miraculous light which shone on a certain piece of land when the sisters had gone out of their oratory after midnight and were singing lauds at the tombs of the brothers who had departed this life before them.

The best known and the most remarkable example of a double monastery is that of Hilda at Whitby. We have already mentioned the great educational power shewn in her monastery. We have, besides, a most interesting instance of her personal rule. The story itself is very well known in its main parts, how the neatherd Caedmon, distressed and vexed because he could not take his turn to sing at a convivial gathering, a "beership" King Alfred calls it in his Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede, went out to the neat-stall and there slept. In his dreams he was bidden, by one who appeared to him, to sing. When he replied that he could not sing, he was bidden sing of the creation of the world. He sang as bidden. In the morning he remembered what he had been made to sing. He told it to the steward, the town-reeve as King Alfred puts it, and the steward took him to the abbess. She examined his story, and took prompt and decisive action. She summoned many of the more learned men—all the most learned men and the learners, Alfred says, clearly with the idea that Hilda called in the men who were the teachers and the students of her educational establishment. In their presence he told the dream and sang the poem; and it seemed to them all that a grace from Heaven had been given him of the Lord. Then they expounded to him a certain discourse of sacred history and godly love, and bade him, if he could, turn this into the melody of song. He undertook it, and went home for the night, and coming back early in the morning brought what they had given him made into an excellent poem. Hilda thereupon persuaded him to enter her monastery, and had him taught the story of the Scriptures; and he, thinking it over within himself, and like a clean animal ruminating,

26 *The Importance of Women in Anglo-Saxon Times*

turned it all into the sweetest verse. He sang of the creation of the world, and the origin of the human race, and the whole history of Genesis ; of the Exodus and the entry into the Land of Promise ; of many other stories of Sacred Scripture ; of the Lord's Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension ; of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of the Apostles. Also of the terror of the judgment to come, and the horror of hell-torment, and the sweetness of the kingdom of heaven, he made many songs ; and many others of the divine benefits and judgments ; in all of which his care was to draw men away from the love of wickedness, and move them to love and desire of good deeds.

Thus the English race owes to the acumen, the wit and wisdom, the intellectual promptness and vigour, of an Anglo-Saxon woman 1250 years ago, the foundation of that gift of sacred song which culminated in direct descent in John Milton.

We may now pass to the south and south-west of England. We shall find there not only an important double monastery, with an advanced educational side, all ruled by a competent woman, but also a palmary example of the active share of women in those missions to the pagans of Germany which had such fascinating attractions for the Anglo-Saxon race.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE EARLY ANGLO-SAXON TIMES

PART II

Double monasteries : Castor, Wimborne—Leoba at Wimborne, at Fulda—Other Anglo-Saxon women in important positions in Germany under Boniface of Crediton—Walpurga—Eichstätt—The miraculous oil—The witch-night dance—The later life of Leoba—Correspondence with Boniface.

THERE were two pairs of royal sisters in the early Anglo-Saxon times who played important parts in the establishment of religious institutions. The two stories are so similar that one of the two has been supposed to be an invention, founded upon the other. There are strong reasons against such a supposition, among them the fact that the two abbeys named were both of them very well known at the time when the first records were compiled, and they were geographically far apart, and politically were in different kingdoms. The one was the Abbey of Castor, in Mercia, the other the Abbey of Wimborne, in Wessex. There is some natural confusion between the two cases, because one of each of the pairs of princesses had been married, and in the one case the husband was the oldest son of King Oswy of Northumbria, and in the other case the husband was a younger son of the same King Oswy. The former pair were Cyneburh and Cyneswitha, sisters of the two kings Wulfhere (659-675) and

Æthelred (675—704) of Mercia, daughters of the savage old pagan Penda ; the later pair were Cwenburh and Cuthburh, sisters of Ini (688—726), King of the West Saxons, whose kingdom included Dorset. It is a very interesting fact that Cyneburh made such a mark at Castor that a roadway there is still called Lady Cunnyborough's Way, the *y* in the earlier part of an Anglo-Saxon word having represented a modified *u*, as is shewn by the original rune letters of the Anglo-Saxons. Nothing is more probable than that one pair of sisters should have taken example from the action of the other pair, considering the close family connection between the husbands.

The Abbey of Wimborne, as founded and ruled with an iron hand by the two sisters of King Ini, the foundress and her successor, was a famous double monastery, a monastic institution for monks and nuns, or, it might be more correct to say, it almost certainly is more correct to say, for nuns and monks. We know the details of its very earliest management, which we do not know in the case of any other institution at anything like so early a date as this. And there is this advantage about the information, that it is indirect. That is to say, it does not come to us in some history of the early days of the monastery, compiled by some affectionate member in honour of the institution. It comes to us from the life history of one of the early inmates of the monastery, a girl taught and trained there, of whom we shall have a good deal to say later on. She became an active helper of her relative the Apostle of Germany, our West Saxon Boniface of Fulda, and dying out there at a very advanced age in or about the year 782, her life was written by Rudolf of Fulda not very long after, about the year 836, when

some who had known her must have been still living at Fulda. Her name was Leoba.

At Winbrunn in Britain, the German Rudolf tells us, there were two monasteries, the one for men, the other for women. Having that form of the name we know as Wimborne, Rudolf thought it right to explain its meaning, as so many German writers have interested themselves in doing with English words and names. He explained that Winbrunn was in Latin *vini fons*, no doubt in his own language he put it as Wein-Brunne, "the fountain or source of wine," so called, he tells us, from the special excellence of its water ! It is probably our earliest example of German thoroughness. Aldhelm of Malmesbury, in one of his charters, states that it is signed in the monastery near the river Winburna over which Cuthburg, the sister of the reigning King Ini, presided. Thus Rudolf may have got the right general idea of the name.

These two monasteries were ruled as one, Rudolf tells us, no doubt on the information of Leoba, possibly given to him personally, but probably with an intermediate step. No woman entered the one ; no man the other, except the officiating priest. We know from the foundations of the chapel of a double monastery of much later period than this, that a thick wall, running up the middle of the church from west to east, divided it into two churches, the inmates being shut off the one sex from the sight of the other, while all could see and hear the officiating priest. At Wimborne the details make it clear that each monastery had its own independent services.

When we come to think the matter out, it is clear that this double arrangement was for practical purposes ideal. It only needed very strict disciplinary rule.

Large institutions of this character had to be self-supporting in those days in matters of food-supply. They raised their own cattle, they grew their own corn, they kept their own fishponds, they hunted—as a food necessity, not for sport—their own game. For these works they must have regularly at hand an adequate supply of men. The institution existed for the education of the girls, the safety of the younger women, the comfort of the women ageing and aged, the religious exercises and consolations of all. To have the men necessary for the farm-work and the pursuit of edible *feræ naturæ* similarly enclosed, literally cloistered, similarly under religious discipline, was an obvious arrangement. There could not be serious question as to which should rule the other. That the men should be under no direct control from their employers was out of the question.

The women, Rudolf proceeds, were there for life. It is quaint that the information of this fact came from one who had on the highest authority left the monastery and gone out to an active public life in distant lands. Tetta, the sister of King Ini, ruled both monasteries with great discretion. We have here just the familiar touch which makes the whole story so pretty. It is evident that Leoba did not talk to the German friends of her later life of princesses or of Cuthburh the King's sister. The girls had a pet name for her. Among themselves they called her Tetta. Possibly it was not altogether a pet name; even modern school-girls do not always have a petting meaning in names by which they call their schoolmistress. It was a well-known custom to have short names for women. Thus the Princess Æthelburg, the daughter of the first Christian King of Kent, who married Edwin the first

Christian King of Northumbria, was called also Tata, as Bede tells us. Whether Tata and Tetta represent some personal characteristic, probably the same, the records do not tell us. Cuthburh, the abbess and foundress of Wimborne, had married the grandson of Tata, and this rather points to some marked resemblance between her sister Tetta and her husband's grandmother Tata. It may be that this guess is not etymologically well founded.

Tetta, then, ruled the monasteries with great discretion, as a royal abbess should. The mother of the community gave her orders to her business people through a wicket. So severe a ruler was she, that she would not allow even bishops to enter the women's monastery. Leoba was a favourite pupil of hers, and we can give two of the stories which Leoba used to tell of her.

There was a very stern sister who was frequently appointed to the offices of provost and dean, *praeposita* and *decana*. The young people hated her, and when she died and her grave was left with the usual raised mound of earth above it, they danced upon it until instead of a mound there was a hollow half a foot deep. Tetta summoned the culprits; made each of them promise to pray for the soul of the deceased lady; and imposed a three days' fast to be spent in psalms and vigils and holy prayers. At the end of the three days, the whole congregation entered the basilica, singing litanies, and Tetta the abbess prostrated herself before the altar, praying with tears for the soul of the deceased sister. Exactly at the moment when she finished her prayers, the earth rose in the grave and reached the level of the ground. Evidently the cemetery attendant was a tactful person.

On another occasion, the sister who had charge of the keys locked the doors of the church at night before going to bed. The keys were very numerous, on account of the many chests in the treasury ; they were of silver, and brass, and iron ; they were all fastened together in one bunch. She lost the bunch, and when the time came to get ready for the early service, the church could not be opened. No doubt there was silent rebellion against midnight or early morning prayer, and the keys had been made away with. But the nuns did not get their hoped-for long lie. Tetta had them called just the same, and held the early service in another oratory. When they left the oratory, they found a small fox lying dead outside, with the bunch of keys in his mouth. The whole five hundred sisters thereupon entered the basilica and gave thanks to God. Whether the young nuns who had danced on the grave of their tyrant had anything to do with this attempt to get off the midnight service, and produced this earliest edition of laying the blame on the cat, we are not told.

From Tetta, and her monastery at Wimborne founded by her sister Cuthburga soon after the year 700, we may pass direct to one of the most important religious works done by Anglo-Saxon ladies in those early times.

When Boniface of Crediton went out in 718 to preach Christianity in the pagan parts of Europe which we call Germany, he kept up his connection with England by frequent letters. One of his correspondents, a relative of his through his mother, was the nun Leoba, Tetta's pupil, already spoken of. We have a letter of his to Leoba, Tecla, Cynehild, and all the sisters at Wimborne, dated about 746. In it he

asks for their prayers, lest he—the last and worst of all the legates sent by the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to preach the gospel—should have no fruit of his labour, and should pass away not leaving behind him spiritual sons and daughters in his stead. This amounted to an invitation, or at least a strong hint, that men and women should come from his native land to help him in his missionary work. The hint was taken, and about the year 748, seven years before his martyrdom, a large party of English men and women joined him. The monk Othlon, three hundred years later, collected and recorded the names of the twelve most important members of this party, and there is abundance of earlier evidence of his accuracy. Six were men, and six were women. All of them whose place of education we can ascertain came from Malmesbury (the men) and Wimborne (the women). Of the men, Lul and Burchard were students at Malmesbury; Lul became Archbishop of Mainz in succession to Boniface, Burchard was the first bishop of Würzburg; Willibald and Wunnibald were nephews of Boniface; the former was the greatest traveller of his time, and became the first bishop of Eichstätt; Wunnibald was abbat of Heidenheim; Witta and Gregorius were the other two, Witta becoming the first bishop of Büraburg, Gregorius I have not further identified. Of the women, Chuniild (the maternal aunt of Lul) and her daughter Berathgid were very erudite in liberal knowledge, and were established as the heads of monastic institutions in Thuringia; Chunitrud was sent to Bavaria, to sow there the seed of the divine word; Tecla, a Wimborne nun, as we know from Boniface's letter, was settled at Kitzingen in the Main district, and at Ochsenfurt, near Würz-

burg; Leoba, also as we have seen a Wimborne nun, was set to preside over a large number of nuns at Bischofsheim, on the Tauber, and there for a year or two Walpurgis worked with her, being moved on, as we shall see, to the government of Heidenheim.

Of the ladies, Walpurgis or Walburga, Boniface's niece, and Leoba his cousin, stand out in history. In life Leoba was the more important, in death, Walburga. To take the latter first, she succeeded her brother Wunnibald in the government of the whole of the great abbey of Heidenheim, in the diocese of their brother Willibald of Eichstätt. At Heidenheim she died, and was buried. The sixth bishop of Eichstätt sent two archpresbyters and a nun, Liubila, to Heidenheim to exhume the body and bring it to Eichstätt. This was accomplished on the 21st of September, about the year 880. Liubila's share in the transaction was so highly resented by the people at Heidenheim that she was driven to beg of the next bishop but one that some portion of the relics might be given to her, to be replaced in their former home. Accordingly in 893 the mausoleum of the saint was opened and a portion of the remains was divided off with the greatest reverence, and taken to Heidenheim by Liubila with the greatest joy. But alas! the people of Eichstätt got the idea that the whole of the remains had been carried away, and they in turn were plunged into the deepest grief. In order that the real facts might be known, Bishop Erkenbald bade the presbyter Wolfhard write the true history.

It was on the occasion of this last investigation that the curious exudation of an oily moisture was first observed, from the saint's bones it is said, no doubt from the rock in which they lie. The Oil of Saint

Walpurga still continues to flow in considerable quantities for several months of each year, and is used all over Germany for curative purposes. It has for us a special interest, inasmuch as it was chosen by Cardinal Newman as a miracle that is credible. A book of prayers is sold with the pretty little flagons of the oil at the nunnery at Eichstätt, for use when the oil is used.

There is among the records of Eichstätt a very interesting account of a mission from Eichstätt to Canterbury in the year 1492. The Bishop, William of Reichenau, sent Bernard Adelman, of Adelmansfelt, Canon of Eichstätt, to the English King, Henry, with the histories and relics of the English saints Willibald, Wunnibald, Walpurgis, and Richard, Richard being the father of the three. The King promised that a Mass should be celebrated daily at Canterbury in honour of the Saints. The Canon's report to the Bishop states that among all the relics that which the King chiefly admired and venerated was the Oil of Saint Walpurgis.

Goethe has made us familiar with the Walpurgis-nacht dance. Very few people are aware of the fact that the dance takes its name from our English lady Walpurga. She was canonised at Rome on the 1st of May, the witch-festival, and on that account she was taken as the protectress against magical arts, witches, and all that kind of thing. The Hexe-nacht-tanz, or witch-night-dance, came by degrees to be called by the name of our English protectress of the Germans against evil-influences, the Walpurgis-nacht dance. Charming little filigree cases in silver, with "S.W." worked into the filigree, are frequent in these parts now, containing minute flagons with a drop of the oil.

Leoba, the mistress of Tauber-Bischofsheim, the

relative of Boniface, was, like Walpurgis, of noble birth. Her full name was Leobgytha, another example of the Anglo-Saxon habit of shortening names. She was trained, as we have seen, at Wimborne, and when ladies were being sent to help Boniface in his missionary work, he specially asked for her. She was not a ruler merely, she was a teacher and expositor. One of the stories of wonderful works wrought by her begins thus—"On another occasion, when according to her wont she had seated herself to deliver to her disciples a reading on the divine word."

When Boniface gave up his archbishopric of Mainz and went up to Frisia, where he was martyred in 755, he gave directions that he should be buried at Fulda; that his successor, Lul of Malmesbury, and the seniors of the monastery, should take charge of Leoba with honour and reverence; and that after her death her bones should be laid in the same sepulchre with his, that together they might rise at the judgment day.

She worked long after the death of her relative and nearest friend, whom she survived by a quarter of a century. The kings treated her with the utmost veneration, both Pepin and his sons Karl and Karlmann, especially Karl, who became the Emperor Charlemagne. Karl's queen, Hiltegard, loved her as her own soul, and would have had her stay always with her, but Leoba hated the tumult of the palace like poison. The princes loved her; the chiefs supported her; bishops embraced her with exultation; she was so very learned in divine scriptures, and so wise in council, that they often conferred with her, and discussed Church affairs.

Late in her life, when King Karl was at Aachen, Hiltegard invited Leoba to visit her again. Unwill-

ingly Leoba went. She was received with the greatest affection, but when she heard the cause of the invitation—what the cause was we do not know—she begged leave to return. Pressed to stay a few days at least, she refused; but, embracing the Queen even more affectionately than ever, she kissed her mouth, her forehead, her eyes, and remaining in her arms exclaimed: “Fare thee well to all eternity, lady and sister most loved. Fare thee well, thou precious portion of my soul. May Christ our Creator and Redeemer grant that in the day of judgment we may see without confusion of face. But in this world we shall never see each other again.”

When Leoba died the authorities of Fulda dared not open the tomb of the holy martyr Boniface, and they buried Leoba near his tomb. Some of the relics of Leoba are contained in a great shrine of silver gilt, the companion shrine to that in which the skull of Boniface and the sword that slew him are contained. Early in June in each year Fulda gives up a day for a great procession and pageant in honour of Boniface. These two shrines, with the relics of Boniface and Leoba, are carried in the procession side by side. The excellent Germans who attend the pageant are filled with national pride for the great doings of these their men and women, whom they believe to have been themselves Germans.

We have the letter written in England by this remarkable woman to introduce herself to her relative Boniface, probably after he had become archbishop. It is well worth preserving in an English dress.

I ask of your clemency that you would deign to remember the former friendship which you made

long ago with my father, by name Dynne, in the west country, now dead for seven years, and would not refuse your prayers to God for his soul. I commend also to you the recollection of my mother, whose name is Aebbe ; she, as you know well, is bound in consanguinity to you. She still lives, greatly burdened, and long grievously oppressed by ill-health. I am the only daughter of my parents ; and I would that I might, though quite unworthy, take you in place of a brother ; for in no man of my family do I place such confidence of hope as in thee. I send a little gift to you,¹ not that it is worth your looking at, but that you may retain some memory of my littleness, and not forget me by reason of distance ; nay, that some bond of love may be formed for the rest of time. My brother, whom I most love, earnestly see to it that the shield of your prayers defend me against the poisoned darts of the hidden foe. I beg, too, that you will correct the rusticity of this letter, and will send me some words of your affability by way of pattern.

These verses underwritten I have tried to compose in accordance with the rules of poetic tradition, not audaciously, but in the desire to exercise the rudiments of a slender and feeble intellect, and needing thy assistance. This art I learned under the tuition of Eadburga, who never ceases to investigate the divine law :—

Arbiter omnipotens, solus qui cuncta creavit,
In regno patris semper qui lumine fulget,
Qua iugiter flagrans sic regnat gloria Christi,
Inlesum servet semper te iure perenni.

¹ This was the regular custom between correspondents in that century.

It is sad to have to say that although Leoba declares she has not done this audaciously, it is an audacious piece of copying from the treatise on the construction of Latin verse by Aldhelm of Malmesbury, then for some years dead. Both in her prose letter and in her verse, she copies wholesale.

Here we must part with all of these pleasant and able women ; fully recognising that eleven and a half centuries and a Norman invasion have not spoiled the pleasantness or the ability of their representatives of to-day.

THE CULTUS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL

PART I

A Roman Catholic Pastoral—The Blessed Virgin and St. Peter in Early England—Veneration of the Virgin Mary—Heterodox assertions—Dedication of churches to the Virgin—Wilfrith—Silence of the three Popes—The Patronage of St. Peter—Cadualla and Ina of Wessex at the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul—The presence of the bodies of the twin Apostles the commanding attraction of Rome—The grave errors of the Pastoral—The case of Canute—Extortion at the Roman Court—Coenred of Mercia and Offa of the East Saxons—Dedication of early churches to St. Peter—Erroneous assertions of the Pastoral—The Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury—Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Worcester, London—The southern province dedicated to St. Paul; the northern to St. Peter—Other dedications—Dedication of 433 churches in Kent—Wighard and the *limina Apostolorum*—The Pope sends relics of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul—Wilfrith's testimony to the twin attraction of Rome—Aldhelm at the *limina Apostolorum*—Pope Paul I and the Protectors of England, Peter and Paul—Testimony of Gregory of Tours—St. Peter and St. Paul at Selsey.

ON the 20th May, 1893, Cardinal Vaughan and the fourteen Roman Bishops in England issued a Pastoral Letter which was read in all their churches on the following Sunday. It was published in the "Tablet" on June 3 of that year, pages 859–862. The subject of the Letter was the relation of "Old England" to the Virgin Mary and St. Peter, that relation being defined by the document as England's "Consecration to the Blessed Virgin" and England's "Recourse to the Patronage of St. Peter."

This promised a highly interesting discussion on important details of the early and earliest history of the *Ecclesia Anglorum*. Some at least of the Roman prelates were men of high attainments, and a considerable number of their less highly placed ecclesiastics had for some considerable time been actively controversial in local newspapers. Those of us who had been watching the controversial methods pursued felt that Cardinal Vaughan and his fourteen bishops would be very careful to treat the plain facts of history on a much higher level of accuracy and intelligence than their subordinates had been in the habit of doing. And this, we felt, was made the more sure by the fact, set out in full in the opening passages of the Pastoral, that the Holy Father himself had exhorted them "to the renewal in this country of two ancient and beautiful forms of devotion," namely the Consecration and the Recourse already named.

The Pastoral exhorted the faithful of England to follow the example of their forefathers, and by a solemn religious rite to dedicate the whole country to the most holy Mother of God and to the Blessed Prince of the Apostles. It told of the special worship always paid by the English to the Prince of the Apostles as Primary Patron of their kingdom.

Quite apart from any idea of controversy, the questions raised in connection with Old England were of the highest interest. They suggested lines of investigation, and stimulated enquiry. As such I was grateful for the impetus they gave. I noticed them at the time, and for some years after the appearance of the document, in several of my little books on our early Church History ; and in 1905 I read a paper on them at Sion College. Notes added from time to

time, as fresh illustrations appeared, have more than doubled the length of the address. I now regard the whole as of some historical value, and it is published as history, not as controversy.

My remarks will naturally fall under the two statements of the Pastoral on St. Mary and on St. Peter. So far as the first statement is concerned, they will not be lengthy.

I yield to no one in reverential respect for the Virgin Mother, blessed among women. I have often grieved over the fact that the Romans have so spoiled the beauty and the blessedness of her position in the Christian story, that we are compelled to be very guarded in our treatment of the beautiful facts recorded, and sometimes to be silent when we would fain speak of her blessedness among women. Pope Leo XIII, as quoted by the Cardinal and his brother bishops in the "*Tablet*," October 10, 1891, declared that "as no man goeth to the Father but by the Son, so no man goeth to Christ but by His mother." This strange heresy was toned down by the confession in a later number of the "*Tablet*" that the word "almost" had been omitted in the translation, which should have run "almost no man"; but the full statement had been made and circulated. The Pope made another utterance later respecting the Blessed Virgin ("*Tablet*," October 2, 1897), "So great is her dignity, so great her favour before God, that whosoever in his need will not have recourse to her, is trying to fly without wings."

It might perhaps be enough to say that the Roman bishops had to come down to so late a date as 1399 for an example of England being described by an Englishman as "Mary's dowry." But on that occasion

Archbishop Arundel, in directing at the request of Henry IV that the *Angelus* bell be rung morning and evening in all churches, states distinctly that "we are commonly called her own dowry." How far back that carries us, and what is the evidence of it, we are not told. We do not find it in the full claim in the letter of Pope Pascal II in 1115, nearly three centuries before.

The Roman bishops lay special emphasis on the fact that St. Bennet of Wearmouth, and St. Wilfrid, had set her name on the temples they erected to Almighty God and placed her image in their sanctuaries—the meaning of *image* at that period being probably "picture." Benet Biscop set the name of St. Peter on his church at Wearmouth and the name of St. Paul on his church at Jarrow. He afterwards erected a supplementary church at Jarrow, and on it he set the name of the Blessed Mary. The inclusion of St. Wilfrith in the long list of names mentioned in this connection is typical of controversial methods. There is usually an historical flaw in flowing rhetoric of this character. We are told in history of two great churches on which Wilfrith set the names of saints, the two finest churches, it has been said, north of the Alps. On the one he set the name of St. Peter. On the other he set the name of St. Andrew. When, in the latest years of his life, he was thought to be dying at Meaux, an Angel of the Lord appeared to him (Eddi, 56) and addressed him thus:—"I am Michael the messenger of God the Most High, Who hath sent me to thee to inform thee that years of life are added to thee by reason of the intercession of Holy Mary, Mother of God and Ever Virgin, and by reason of the lamentations of thy dependents which have reached the ears

of the Lord. And this shall be to thee for a sign, that from this day you will daily improve in health, you will reach your fatherland, all that is most dear to you of your substance will be restored to you, and you will close your life in peace. Be ready therefore. After a space of four years I shall visit thee again. And now remember that thou hast built houses in honour of St. Peter and St. Andrew the Apostles, but to the Holy Mary Ever Virgin, who intercedes for thee, thou hast built none. Thou hast to set this right and build a house in her honour." The Saint recovered rapidly and got home safe ; but Eddi, his chaplain, biographer, and intimate friend, does not tell us of any church being built in obedience to the vision. Indeed, such evidence as we have tells rather against his having built such church. When he was seized, on his way to Hexham, with the same disease as at Meaux, he declared his Last Will by word of mouth in these words, after dividing his gold and silver and precious stones into four parts :—" Know ye, brothers most beloved, that I long ago formed a purpose to end my life at the seat of the Holy Peter the Apostle, where I frequently have been set free ; to take with me the best of these four portions to be offered at the churches of Saints ; and to carry gifts to the church of Holy Mary, and offer gifts for my soul at St. Paul's. If, as happens to old men, I am carried off before I can do this, I charge you by Jesus Christ that you send my gifts to those churches by the hand of messengers."

Thus the rhetoric of the Roman bishops brings out the fact that Wilfrith had not set the Blessed Virgin's name on a church built by him, and the additional and most interesting fact, so apposite to what is to be our contention, that the only Roman churches to which

he left legacies by name were Santa Maria and San Paolo.

I shall not pursue this part of my enquiry further, contenting myself with the remark that none of the three Popes, Gregory, Honorius, and Boniface, in their letters to the first Christian king and queen of the South of England and the first Christian king and queen of the North, even mentions the Virgin Mary's name. Their letters to the queens, especially the letter to Bertha, were most obvious and appropriate occasions for the mention of her name, if any such belief as that of Leo XIII had been held by those Popes, or any idea that the land of the Jutes and the North Angles was to be the dowry of the Blessed Mary.

In historical proof of the recourse of old England to the patronage of St. Peter, the Pastoral begins with the case of two kings of Wessex, Cadualla and Ina. Cadualla, it tells us, resigned his kingdom and went to Rome, where he was baptised. The Pope gave him at baptism the name of Peter, thus joining him in name with the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whose most sacred body he had come from the ends of the earth, led by pious love. So far, and correctly, the Pastoral quotes the Venerable Bede ("Hist. Eccl.," v. 7). But here in the very first case we have the suppression of the reason which brought Cadualla to Rome, a reason which Bede states quite clearly at the head of his account. Cadualla came to Rome that he might be baptised, not at St. Peter's church or tomb, or resting-place, as the Cardinal's partial quotation indicates, but "at the abode of the blessed Apostles," Peter and Paul. Hence it is that I entitle this address "The Cultus of St. Peter and St. Paul," that cult, and

not the cult of St. Peter, being, as we shall see, the foundation of the position held by the Church and City of Rome in those early times to which the Pastoral has drawn our thoughts. The well-known Latin phrase for an official visit of a bishop of Rome, still in ordinary use in Roman circles, is *ad limina Apostolorum*. As this phrase will be of constant use in the course of this address, it may be explained that on the whole I prefer the word "abode" as representing *limina*, *limen* being the sill or lintel of a doorway; thence the doorway itself; thence the dwelling or abode. The plural *limina* might be interpreted as implying that the resting-place of more than one Saint is meant, but I do not remember to have seen the phrase *ad limen apostoli*. The ordinary rendering of *limina apostolorum* is "the threshold of the Apostles."

The presence of the bodies of the two princes of the Apostles, both martyred in Rome, was beyond doubt the great spiritual attraction which drew the Christian Church to Rome, once the pagan head of the greatest pagan empire.

Before parting with Cadualla, I must notice an argument employed by a Roman bishop in favour of the Pastoral's use of Cadualla as an evidence for its main contention. It is this. The long epitaph on Cadualla, which Bede quotes, in St. Peter's church where Cadualla was baptised, speaks only of St. Peter, and does not mention St. Paul. That, like the selection of the church and the baptismal name, was the Pope's doing, *iubente pontifice epitaphium scriptum*, not Cadualla's, or any Englishman's. It has not the slightest value as evidence of the views of old England. The only evidence we have in the case is that Cadualla went to the abode of the Apostles, not to the abode of

the Apostle; St. Peter and St. Paul, not St. Peter. He followed the cult of the twin Apostles, Peter and Paul.

The next case chosen by the Pastoral as an historical proof of the Recourse of early England to the patronage of St. Peter is an example of something more than a *suppressio*. In two or three of my little books or booklets on our early Church History I had described it as "forgery." But a Roman bishop for whom I had and have a high regard, both officially and personally, wrote to the Bristol "Daily Mercury" (26 January, 1904) a letter which suggested that "unscholarly, slipshod, or partial" might meet the case, not "forgery." I feel clear that none of these three words is nearly strong enough for so very grave a mis-statement of fact, at the critical point of a fundamental argument, but I leave the exposure of the mis-statement without further comment. The story of Ina as told by the Pastoral is as follows:—

Then he gave up his crown and went to Rome "to visit the Blessed Apostle," and there he died. "About this time," says Venerable Bede, "the same thing was done through the zeal of many of the English nation, noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women."

That is the only evidence advanced by the Roman Pastoral of the Recourse of Old England to the Patronage of St. Peter—for a reference to King Alfred does not mention St. Peter—until Canute, whose case we shall take next. Of course Bede's statement that many of the English nation went to Rome to visit the Blessed Apostle, as quoted by the Pastoral, would be a strong point in favour of the Pastoral. But the whole thing is wrong from beginning to end. The evidence is dead against the conten-

tion of the Pastoral, and against its credibility. Bede says ("Hist. Eccl.," v. 7) that Ina went to Rome to visit the *abodes* of the blessed *apostles* and to spend the rest of his life in the neighbourhood of the holy places, in order that he might be deemed worthy to be received in heaven by those holy ones, more as one of their own household; which thing many of the race of the Angles, noble, ignoble, lay, clerical, men and women, were wont to do eagerly at that time. It may be well to give Bede's own words: "Ad limina apostolorum profectus est, cupiens in vicinia sanctorum locorum ad tempus peregrinari in terris, quo familiarius a sanctis recipi mereretur in coelis; quod his temporibus plures de gente Anglorum, nobiles ignobiles laici clerici viri ac feminae certatim facere consueverunt."

The defender of the Pastoral already quoted pointed out that the Cardinal had only omitted the letter *s* after the word "apostle." But he had done much more than that. At exactly the critical point of his whole contention he had altered his authority from *beatorum apostolorum*, which is against his contention, into *beati apostoli*, which is his one proof of his contention; and he is compelled to omit the charming picture which follows, the holy twin princes of the Apostles receiving in heaven the faithful English dwellers in Rome, as being in a special way of their own household.

Thus the one broad and large statement which history has for us, of the attitude of the English race towards the city of Rome, is exactly against the contention of the Cardinal and in favour of those who, like myself, maintain that in Old England St. Peter and St. Paul were regarded as making the sacredness of Rome, and, taking a Roman view, as being joint Patrons in heaven.

It was by no mere chance that Ina went specially to the *limina* of the twin Apostles. When the earliest churches at historic Glastonbury had become inadequate, Aldhelm persuaded his relative and sovereign, Ina, to build there a great church. Ina had it dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. This was about the year 700.

The Pastoral's treatment of the very remarkable letter which King Canute wrote from Rome to the archbishops, bishops, nobles, and whole nation of the English high and low, is at least as remarkable as the letter itself. The date is between 1027 and 1030, when the cult of St. Peter alone had been considerably developed. The letter is in itself of so much interest that I am glad to have the excuse of the Pastoral's travesty for giving the salient parts of it. I take Dr. Giles's translation of 1866, based on that of Mr. Sharpe in 1815, and corrected from the very careful edition of the Latin text published by the English Historical Society.

I notify to you that I have lately been to Rome, to pray for forgiveness of my sins, for the safety of my dominions and of the people under my government . . . I now return thanks most humbly to my Almighty God, for suffering me, in my life-time, to approach the holy Apostles Peter and Paul and all the holy saints [*omne sanctuarium*, every sanctuary] within and without the city of Rome wherever I could discover them, and, there present, to worship and adore according to my desire. And I have been the more diligent in the performance of this, because I have learned from the wise that St. Peter the Apostle has received from God great power in bind-

ing and in loosing ; that he carries the key of the kingdom of heaven ; and consequently I have judged it a matter of special importance to seek his influence with God.

After describing his successful appeals to the Emperor and to the princes who had command of the roads to Rome to make less onerous charges for passage to and from Rome, Canute proceeds :—

Again, I complained before the Pope, and expressed my high displeasure, that my archbishops were oppressed by the immense sum of money which is demanded from them when seeking according to custom the apostolical residence to receive the pall ; and it was determined that it should be so no longer.

With the exception of a reference to “ the pence which you owe to Rome for St. Peter,” the Apostle is not again named, nor ever so distantly referred to.

The use made by the Pastoral of this letter is so remarkable that in ordinary justice it seems right to print the original Latin, taken from the English Historical Society’s text of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (ii. 183):—

Notifico vobis me noviter isse Romam, oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum . . . Nunc autem ipsi Deo meo omnipotenti valde humiliter gratias ago, quod concessit in vita mea beatos apostolos Petrum et Paulum, et omne sanctuarium quod intra urbem Romam aut extra addiscere potui expetere, et secundum desiderium meum, præsentialiter venerari et adorare. Et ideo maxime hoc patravi, quia a sapientibus didici sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse a Domino

ligandi et solvendi, clavigerumque esse cœlestis regni; et ideo specialiter ejus patrociniū apud Deum expetere valde utile duxi.

Conquestus sum iterum coram domino papa, et mihi valde displicere dixi, quod mei archiepiscopi in tantum angariabantur immensitate pecuniarum quæ ab ūs expetebantur dum pro pallio accipiēdo secundum morem apostolicam sedem expeterent; decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat. Cuncta enim quæ a domino papa, et ab imperatore, et a rege Rodulfo, cæterisque principibus per quorum terras nobis transitus est ad Romam, pro meæ gentis utilitate postulabam, libenter annuerunt.

The letter proceeds to give instruction to his finance ministers that they deviate not from the path of justice in collecting his dues, for there is no need of unjust exaction.

“This letter shews us,” the Pastoral argues, “a great man and a great king moved to the depths of his heart by the power and influence of St. Peter. He had learnt, as he says, from the wise—that is, from the pastors of the Church—that the holy Apostle St. Peter was the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom, and therefore had he come to ‘venerate and worship’ him. Meditating on his past life . . . he fervently expresses his resolution to live henceforth for God and his people. There should be no more extortion; the complaints of all should be attended to. These holy inspirations, derived from St. Peter’s tomb . . . the change was chiefly the work of St. Peter . . . ‘And before the tomb of the Apostles he made a vow to amend his life.’”

Canute says expressly that he came to venerate and

adore—not worship—not St. Peter but St. Peter and St. Paul and all other *sanctuaría*. He says thankfully that all *his* complaints had been attended to. It is quite true that he said there should be no more extortion, but that was said because the Pope, in response to his personal expression of high displeasure, had promised to abandon the customary extortion of the Roman pontifical court. And this is put down as a holy inspiration on Canute's part, derived from St. Peter's tomb. The passage which the Pastoral puts between special quotation marks comes from Florence of Worcester, a little later than William of Malmesbury. Florence says that when Cnut was in Rome he gave great gifts in gold and silver and other precious things to St. Peter the chief of the Apostles, and obtained from the Pope the freedom of the Schola Anglorum, the English School at Rome, from tribute and tax (*thelone*) ; and, further, that he vowed to God amendment of life and morals at the sepulchre—not of St. Peter, but—of the Apostles, *ante sepulchrum Apostolorum*, to visit which, as we have seen, he came to Rome. Cnut's letter, as given by Florence, is identical with the letter as given by William.

Bede tells us, under the year 709, of two other English kings who went to Rome, Coenred of Mercia and Offa of the East Saxons. Of Coenred he says that he became a monk at Rome and remained at the thresholds of the Apostles for the rest of his life. Of Offa he says that when he came to the holy places (*loca sancta*) at Rome, he became a monk and died there, attaining at last to the long-desired vision of the Apostles in heaven.

¶ We must now pass on to another branch of the Pastoral's argument, the dedications of early churches.

We owe a special debt to the Cardinal and his fourteen bishops for calling our attention to the dedications of our earliest churches. They evidently regard this as one of their strong points. The dedications provide us with curiously clear evidence against the recognition of any special patronage of St. Peter, and in favour of our main contention, that St. Peter and St. Paul were recognised as the twin chiefs of the Apostles, both as regards the importance of Rome in the ecclesiastical world and as regards the position of those two Apostles in the estimation of the Church at large.

St. Augustine struck the first note in his dedications. He dedicated his Cathedral Church to the Saviour. All our churches are dedicated to the Saviour. The very word "church" is a standing evidence of this, *κυριακή*, the house of the Lord. The supplementary dedications to Saints provide a distinctive name for each of the houses dedicated primarily to the Lord. The mother Church of Rome, the Lateran, had the special dedication to the Saviour, and its Canons had precedence over those of the Vatican; not the only sign of the superior position of the Lateran in old times.

Augustine founded also an abbey church outside the city. This "second monastery at Canterbury was dedicated to St. Peter himself." So the Pastoral says. Bede says of it ("Hist. Eccl.," i. 33) that King Ethelbert built from the foundations the church of the blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul; and he tells us (ii. 3) that Augustine was buried near the church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul; and later that Ethelbert and Bertha were buried in the porticus of St. Martin in the church of the blessed Apostles St.

Peter and St. Paul. So much for the evidence of the separate patronage of St. Peter in the leading case set forth by the Roman bishops, which is also the leading case in our contention for the recognised twinship of St. Peter and St. Paul. Augustine is a fairly good authority for the "dedication of England."

But Augustine had another opportunity for dedicating a Cathedral Church in the kingdom of Kent to St. Peter. He dedicated the Cathedral of Rochester to St. Andrew; and when the very learned Bishop Tobias of Rochester, the pupil of Theodore and Hadrian, desired to build in his Cathedral Church a chapel in which he might himself be buried, he dedicated it not to St. Peter or to St. Peter and St. Paul, but to St. Paul ("Hist. Eccl.," v. 23).

The connection of other dedications at Canterbury with the dedications of churches in Rome is a very interesting subject, but it is outside my present purpose. I may refer to my little book on "Augustine and his Companions" (S.P.C.K. 4th edition. 1910). I cannot find that Augustine left as a memorial of St. Peter any dedication to St. Peter as separate from St. Paul. There is nothing Petrine in his time to compare with, say, the dedication of London to St. Paul.

The Pastoral calls our attention next to Cathedral Churches "to the west," where "the royal Cathedral of Winchester, as well as the great churches of Exeter, Bath, and Worcester, bore the same patronal title," that is "to St. Peter himself." This is a hopeless confusion of dates and contradiction of facts. The first Cathedral Church of the West Saxons was at Dorchester (Oxon) not at Winchester, and the church at Dorchester was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul.

As to the Cathedral Church of Winchester, Bede tells us ("Hist. Eccl.," iii. 7) that Hædde the Bishop removed the body of Birinus from Dorchester, the original see of the West Saxons, which became the seat of a Mercian bishopric, to Winchester, and laid it there in the church of the blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. It is possible that the controversialists who drafted the Pastoral had seen a twelfth-century insertion in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 644, that "Cenwahl ordered the old church at Winchester to be built in St. Peter's name," and under the year 648 that "the minster which Cenwahl king caused make at Winchester was builded and hallowed in St. Peter's name." Those passages are not found in the oldest manuscript of the Chronicle, which is written in one hand down to the year 891. They are evidently Petrine forgeries. The very phrase "the old church" indicates that they were inserted after Alfred's time, for the new minster was only consecrated in 903. The dedication to the two Apostles is certified by charters¹ of A.D. 672, 737, 749.

As to the Church of Exeter, that see only dates from 1072, and its dedication cannot have any serious bearing on the Patronage of Old England. It was developed from the bishopric of Crediton, which had existed since 909. The local name of the ancient episcopal seat at Crediton was "St. Gregory's" in Leland's time. The dedication of the parish church is Holy Cross; there does not appear to be any suggestion of a Petrine dedication. The arms of the See of Exeter are the keys of St. Peter superposed upon the sword of St. Paul. After all is said, St. Peter was a

¹ *Cartularium Saxonicum* (Birch), I. 46, 228, 257, 554; II. 78, 260, 302.

very natural dedication for any church; we may well wonder that we find so few examples in our earliest times.

Bath is a very unhappy case for the Pastoral to have chosen as a palmary evidence of a dedication to St. Peter himself. The See of Bath is too late to be a good evidence of Old England; but the Abbey of Bath always has been St. Peter and St. Paul. The Bishop of Bath and Wells carries St. Peter and St. Paul dexter and the saltire of Wells sinister.

Worcester is of course very much earlier as a see than Bath or Exeter. But its dedication to St. Peter himself appears to be not very clear. There was an early secular foundation dedicated to St. Peter, and there was an early foundation dedicated to St. Mary. For some reason the St. Peter dedication fell out of use very early, and in the eighth century the designation was St. Mary, as it now is, *Christ and St. Mary*.

With London the Pastoral deals very briefly. The exigency of facts compelled to brevity. All it says is, "In London there was Westminster Abbey, with many other churches"; and that is all. If ever there was a cathedral city dedicated to St. Paul in earliest England, it was London. And yet London is quoted as a palmary example of the dedication of England to the sole patronage of St. Peter. What date the Pastoral would assign to St. Peter's, Westminster, in competition with the 604 to which we usually assign the foundation of St. Paul's, is a mystery. That St. Peter's, Westminster, was in London at any time in old England is an assertion that will not bear a moment's investigation, to say the least. It was in the territory of the Middle Saxons, not of the East Saxons as London was.

The dedication of London to St. Paul is a point of primary importance in our consideration.

By the instructions of Pope Gregory, given to Augustine, London was to be the seat of the southern metropolitan, with twelve suffragans, so soon as Augustine should pass away. London then, rather than Canterbury, was the one place to which we must look, to see what in Augustine's judgment was the primary sole dedication of England, next to the Blessed Saviour. He had already shewn what was the primary joint dedication, the co-equal Apostles Peter and Paul. He had gratified his personal fondness for his old surroundings in Rome by dedicating the seat of his first suffragan to St. Andrew. It was then arranged that the seat of the future metropolitan of the south should be dedicated to St. Paul, with the evident intention that St. Peter should be the dedication of the metropolitical see of the north. The dedication of Westminster is lost in vague visions, and in any case it cannot compete in date with London or with York.

A generation later than Augustine, in the time of the fourth and fifth Archbishops of Canterbury, steps were taken towards the formation of the northern province, and then St. Peter came into his own, and had a metropolitical see dedicated to him, as had his brother apostle St. Paul before him.

The order of those names in English dedications to single saints may remind us of what Eusebius says in the second chapter of the third book of his history. The chapter is headed "Who was the first to preside over the church of the Romans?" and it proceeds to state that "after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus first received the lot of the bishopric."

The Pastoral then leads us to the consideration of the dedications of a number of churches here and there, many of doubtful accuracy. "Lincoln, with its seven Peter churches" is one of the evidences of the Pastoral. But Lincoln is late for the evidence of Old England. The see remained at Dorchester, St. Peter and St. Paul, till 1088. At that date, Remigius, feeling it troublesome that his episcopal seat should be in a village at the extreme edge of his bishopric, procured a site at Lincoln and there constructed a church to the Virgin of virgins.

One of the cases is specially noted by the Pastoral, and quite naturally, that of Peterborough, *Petri-burgus*; quite naturally, that is, on a mere surface view. But when we come to examine why the old Saxon name Medeshamstede was changed to the name Peter's burgh, we come upon a curious fact. Under the year 657 there is a long and late insertion in the Saxon Chronicle, certainly drawn up in honour of St. Peter. It states that Peada of the Mercians, whose death and the succession of his brother Wulfhere are the only entries in the Chronicle proper under that year, had agreed with the Northumbrian king Oswy, the brother of St. Oswald, to build a monastery in honour of St. Peter. They carried out this purpose and named it Medeshamstede, because there was a well there called Mede's well. When Archbishop Deusdedit came to consecrate it, in 664, he hallowed it in the name of St. Peter and of St. Paul and of St. Andrew. Those were the three Apostles to whom the first separate consecrations took place in England, but in the inverted order. The order of date was St. Andrew, St. Paul, and St. Peter. Medeshamstede took the name of the first mentioned of the three, to whom the

long insertion in the Chronicle time after time states that the kings dedicated their large gift.

In speaking of the Donation of Constantine we shall see that a learned editor of that document remarks upon the fate of St. Paul in dropping out of joint dedications with St. Peter, as the Temple of Castor and Pollux had come to be called the Temple of Castor alone. Some years ago, an investigation into the true and full dedication of the churches in the two divisions of Augustine's diocese, East Kent and West Kent, as shewn by Charters and chiefly by Wills, produced a curious and luminous result.¹ The true dedications of 332 churches in East Kent and of 101 in West Kent have been ascertained, and are as follows:—

	EAST KENT.	WEST KENT.	TOTAL.
Our Lady . . .	80 .	21 ..	101
St. Peter and St. Paul	45 .	16 ..	61
All Saints . . .	27 .	10 ..	37
St. Nicholas . . .	24 .	5 ..	29
St. John Baptist . . .	13 .	6 ..	19
St. Martin . . .	13 .	3 ..	16
St. Lawrence . . .	12 .	2 ..	14
St. Margaret . . .	11 .	7 ..	18
St. Michael . . .	11 .	5 ..	16
St. Mary Magdalene	6 .	3 ..	9
St. George . . .	4 .	2 ..	6
St. Giles . . .	4 .	2 ..	6
St. Botolph . . .	2 .	2 ..	4
St. Paul alone . . .	1 .	0 ..	1
St. Peter alone . . .	0 .	1 ..	1

Several other Saints have one dedication each in one or the other division.

All Saints is a specially Anglo-Saxon dedication, so much so that if any early church has that dedication,

¹ *Testamenta Cantiana*, Kent Archæological Society.

the presumption is that it is on the site of an Anglo-Saxon church.

The inseparable twinship of St. Peter and St. Paul, as held by our ancestors of long ago, is shewn by the very remarkable facts that while 61 of the churches are dedicated to them, only one is dedicated to St. Paul alone, and only one to St. Peter alone.

It is noted that of the 45 dedications to St. Peter and St. Paul in East Kent, 17 have been supposed to be to St. Peter alone. A similar note is made in connection with the double dedication in West Kent.

A very special opportunity for a declaration of the patronage of St. Peter for England, so far as an assertion of it by a Pope could be any equivalent of a recognition of it by Old England, was afforded by the case of Wighard. Wighard was sent to Rome in 664, by the kings of Kent and Northumbria, to be consecrated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, by reason of the dearth or unfitness of bishops in England. We have not the letter which the kings sent with the archbishop-elect, but we have the reply of Pope Vitalian, addressed to King Oswy. The king, he says, had sent presents to the chief (*principi*) of the Apostles, and for this he sends his thanks. He reports that Wighard had died of a pestilence in Rome, and had been buried *ad limina Apostolorum*. He sends to the king relics of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and other martyrs. Of Oswy's queen he says that all the world rejoiced in her piety, and he therefore sent to her a golden key, made of the most sacred chains of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. He bids the king "follow always in all things the pious rule of chief (*principis*) of the Apostles, whether for the celebration of Easter, or in all things which the holy Apostles Peter

and Paul have handed down to us, whose teaching (*doctrina eorum*) daily enlightens the hearts of the believers, as the two luminaries of the sky illumine the world." Thus the name of St. Peter is not mentioned except where he is coupled with St. Paul; he is only referred to as the chief of the Apostles, and is not referred to at all as a special protector of England. Near the end of the letter the Pope does speak of the dedication of England, and does name the Protector of England. "Hasten," he says to the king, "to dedicate your whole island to the Lord Christ. For your island has truly as its Protector the Redeemer of the human race, Our Lord Jesus Christ."

That letter needs no comment. Our case could not have been stated better.

We had in the early history of our Church one very ardent Romaniser, to use that term in a completely respectful sense. If we ask Wilfrith what was his idea of the basis of Rome's importance and authority, he tells us very clearly in his address on the true method of calculating Easter Day, at the Conference of Whitby. "The Easter which we keep we saw kept by all at Rome, where the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried." Our case for the twinship could not be stated better. This was far from being the only reason he alleged for the universal adoption of his method. He proceeds to add that he found the same rule for Easter in Italy and Gaul wherever he went, and that Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, the whole Christian world observed it. He adds, further, that St. Peter taught it in Rome. Even if that had been so, it would not weaken his statement of the twin basis on which Rome rested. But the theory that the method of calculating Easter which

Wilfrith was defending had been arrived at in Rome in the days of St. Peter was a theory that could not be maintained on historical grounds. Wilfrith's biographer, chaplain, and friend, in his biographical account of Wilfrith's attitude at Whitby, leaves the St. Peter story out of consideration, and makes his master base the claim of his method upon the decree of the Council of Nicæa. No doubt Wilfrith had learned the real facts of the case long before his death, and Eddi represented his maturer view. The Patriarch Anthimus of Constantinople and his twelve bishops made a pithy remark in this connection in their answer to the Papal Encyclical on unity late in the last century¹: "The Church of Rome was chiefly founded, not by Peter, whose apostolic action at Rome is totally unknown to history, but by the heaven-taught Apostle of the Gentiles, Paul, through his disciples; his apostolic ministry in Rome is well known to all."

About the year 700, Abbat Aldhelm of Malmesbury, a contemporary of Wilfrith, visited Rome. William of Malmesbury, writing as late as 1125, full of the records and the traditions of the famous Abbat's life, states as his reason for visiting Rome his desire to see the long-wished-for thresholds of the chiefs of the Apostles, *principum Apostolorum*, a striking statement at so late a date as 1125, no doubt copied by William from the records. It may be mentioned in passing that the scandals connected with the election and the life of the Pope which Aldhelm found disturbing Rome would force him to realise that the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, not the papacy whatever its claims might be, was the source of the holiness and of the veneration of Rome. Aldhelm,

¹ Fargie, 20 Cross Street, Manchester, pages 40, 41.

like his cousin Ina, is a double witness to this great truth, for he built at Malmesbury "a more august church to the honour of the Saviour and the leading Apostles, *primorum Apostolorum*, Peter and Paul." At the dedication of this church, which remained the chief church till after William wrote, Aldhelm sang the epithalamium which we shall analyse later on. This, as we have seen, is not the only case of Aldhelm's dedication of a great church to St. Peter and St. Paul. The buildings at Glastonbury having fallen into disrepair, King Ina, by the advice of his cousin Aldhelm, built a considerable basilica of stone to the east of the three little churches on the holy site. This basilica was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul.

About fifty years after Wilfrith's death, Pope Paul I wrote an important letter to Ecgbert Archbishop, and Eadbert King, of Northumbria, begging them to restore some monastic lands to Abbat Forthred, who had appealed to him. The Pope describes the appeal to Rome thus—"Forthred the Abbat, coming to the thresholds of your protectors, the blessed chiefs of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, has laid before us the following statement." That so late in time as the later middle of the eighth century the Pope should thus describe an appeal to Rome, and should not only employ the joint names of St. Peter and St. Paul in describing the place to which Forthred had brought his appeal, but also define the protectorate of England as being with St. Peter and St. Paul, not with St. Peter, is very significant. At a later stage in the letter the Pope speaks of the apostolic see itself as the protector of England.

It should be carefully borne in mind throughout this enquiry that the statements of the Pastoral are

addressed to the English recognition of and recourse to the Patronage of St. Peter himself, not to the declarations of Popes of Rome, such as Agatho.

Before proceeding further with our enquiry into English matters, we may glance at the Gallican Church, and gather what we may of material for our consideration from the voluminous works of Gregory bishop of Tours 573 to 594, the Bede of the Frank Church.

In the tenth book of his "History of the Franks," chapter xxxi., writing in or about the year 590, he gives a list of the Vigils ordained by Perpetuus, the sixth Archbishop of Tours, about the year 475. Among them is the Eve of the *Natale* of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to be observed at their basilica. In his second book, chapter xiv, he describes the erection of this basilica. Perpetuus built a noble church in place of the small church in which St. Martin's relics lay at Tours. The canopy in the small church was so beautiful that he built another basilica specially to contain and preserve this canopy, and he dedicated the basilica to St. Peter and St. Paul.

Gregory wrote, in his book on "Miracles," a chapter on St. Peter and a chapter on St. Paul ("Miracles," i. 28, 29). In the chapter on St. Peter there is an account of a miracle performed jointly by St. Peter and St. Paul; with this exception, the two chapters are of about the same length. The chapter on St. Peter is mostly occupied by a description of the proceeding at his tomb; the chapter on St. Paul is throughout personal to the efficacy of St. Paul and the records of his power.

The story of the miracle jointly performed is a severe criticism on the value of testimonies in favour of Rome. "There are," Gregory writes, "two little excavations

on a stone in Rome on which the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul knelt on bended knee when they uttered the prayer in answer to which the craft of Simon Magus was exposed." But it is at the same time a remarkable testimony to the determination of Gregory of Tours to equate St. Peter with St. Paul in miraculous power.

In his epitome of the "History of the Franks," chapter i, we are told that Arvatus, bishop of Tongres, went to Rome to the *limina* of the holy Peter the Apostle. There he learned in a vision that the Huns would invade Gaul. In the same chapter the wife of a general fighting the Huns prayed at the *limina* of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul that her husband Aetius might come safe back. This she procured. In the history itself (ii. 7) we have a naïve account of how this came to pass. The wife prayed very assiduously at "the basilica of the holy Apostles." The story seems to suggest that in the one basilica there was a St. Peter's part and a St. Paul's part, for a drunken man who fell asleep in the basilica of St. Peter and was locked in for the night had a vision of the two Saints saluting one another, each enquiring solicitously as to the other's welfare. The older of the two declared that he could no longer endure the woman's tears. He had procured a relaxation of the divinely appointed decision.

In the continuation of Fredegar's Chronicle of the later history of the Franks, under the year 741, mention is made of "Rome, the *sedes* of St. Peter the Apostle," and of a visit "to Rome, to the *limina* of St. Peter and St. Paul." Under the year 747, Carloman, resigning his Frankish kingdom, went to the *limina* of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

One more quotation from Gregory of Tours, this

time from his "Miracles of St. Martin," iv. 12. A certain woman who had lost her eyesight prayed assiduously to St. Martin. She recovered her sight. Her prayers to St. Martin were uttered at a spot where there were "relics of the most blessed Apostles, that is, Peter and Paul," but the woman persisted that it was St. Martin who had procured her recovery of sight.

It may be noted that the royal Frankish convert Clovis and his Christian wife Chlotilde founded the church in which he was buried, in Paris, and dedicated it to St. Peter and St. Paul. It afterwards became the Abbey Church of St. Geneviève. Clovis died in 511.

If we glance at early Spain, we find that the Council of Toledo met in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in the year 597, the year in which Augustine began the conversion of England, where his first dedication, next to the Saviour, was St. Peter and St. Paul.

As we have quoted Gregory on a joint appearance of St. Peter and St. Paul, we may quote from Bede a similar account (H. E. iv. 14). A little boy was dying in a monastery. "The most blessed princes of the Apostles appeared to him," bidding him not fear death and giving him a long message for his priest. The boy said they were "of noble appearance, most joyous and most beautiful; one shorn like a cleric, the other with a long beard; they told him one was called Peter the other Paul, servants of God, sent from the heavens for the protection of the monastery." Acca vouched for the truth of this story to Bede.

THE CULTUS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL

PART II

The Roman Service-books—St. Chrysostom—*Limina Apostolorum*—Papal Bulls—The Edict of Donation of Constantine—The Donation of Pepin and the Letter from Heaven—Prudentius—Aldhelm—Bede—Boniface—The Churches and Relics of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome—The brazen doors of St. Peter's—Irish Pilgrims to Rome—Columba's Song of Lament—The Irish Martyrologies—The Russian Liturgy—Recognition of three Primary Patrons by the Church of the English—The real claim on England as stated by a Pope—The Popes the Vicars of St. Peter and St. Paul.

IN that curiously disintegrated formula the Roman Canon of the Mass, St. Peter and St. Paul are named first, and are the only Apostles whose names are combined by a copulative *and*, an evident note of some special joint primacy.

The Roman Breviary, too, retains clear indications of the old view of the twinship of the two chiefs of the Apostles.

The collect for the Feast SS. *Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* runs thus :—

Deus, qui hodiernam diem Apostolorum Petri et Pauli martyrio consecrasti, da Ecclesiae tuae eorum in omnibus sequi praeceptum per quos religionis sumpsit exordium. Per etc.

A Roman bishop was kind enough to write of me in a Bristol newspaper as quoting in the course of my

contention "irrelevant hymns from Aldhelm and Bede." How they could be "irrelevant" when they expressed definite opinions on the precise point at issue, I do not see. But we may take it that the Office Hymn for the Day of the two Saints in the Roman Breviary cannot be described as irrelevant. It runs thus :—

Decora lux aeternitatis auream
 Diem beatis irrigavit ignibus
 Apostolorum quae coronat Principes
 Reisque in astra liberam pandit viam.
 Mundi Magister atque coeli Janitor
 Romae parentes arbitrique gentium
 Per ensis ille hic per crucis victor necem
 Vitae Senatum laureati possident.
 O Roma felix quae duorum Principum
 Es consecrata glorioso sanguine
 Horum cruore purpurata ceteras
 Excellis orbis una pulchritudines.

It would be difficult to draw from this hymn any argument of validity in favour of the view that St. Peter is the supreme honour of Rome. Indeed, it would not be difficult to argue that the original authors of the hymn thought more of St. Paul than of St. Peter as the leading factor in the dominance of Rome. In the two cases where they are dealt with separately, St. Paul comes first. In the four cases in which they are dealt with in combination, there is not the slightest hint of the superiority of either. Finally, we have my precise point stated in emphatic words. "Rome excels all other fairnesses in the world because it is consecrated by the glorious blood of the two Princes"—"the parents of Rome" as an earlier line aptly terms them.

The fourth Lection for the day is taken from the Holy Pope Leo :—

Isti enim sunt viri per quos tibi Evangelium Christi, Roma, resplenduit, et quae eras magistra erroris facta es discipula veritatis.

There again there is no suggestion of any pre-eminence of St. Peter in the conversion of the Romans. Indeed, it would be too absurd if there were such suggestion ; for the Romans know as well as we know that our only contemporary information on that subject is that the work of preaching the gospel in Rome was done by St. Paul. St. Peter is not ever so distantly referred to in the book of the Acts of the Holy Apostles in connection with Rome or the work in Rome.

It may be well to turn from Rome to Constantinople, and quote a passage in which St. Chrysostom speaks of St. Paul's share in the consecration of Rome.

We have not space to quote the noble panegyric on the work of St. Paul and his main share in the consecration of Rome with which St. Chrysostom closes his Homilies on the Epistle to the Romans (*Hom. xxx. II, Opera*, t. ix. pp. 754—60). Speaking of the heaven in which the Cherubin give glory and the Seraphin fly, he says "there we shall see Paul, with Peter, the coryphaeus and patron in the choir of the Holy Ones," *Paulum cum Petro videbimus in Sanctorum choro coryphaeum et patronum* ; Paul, not Peter, the coryphaeus and patron. "It is for this that I love Rome, though there are on other accounts reasons for lauding her, her magnitude, her antiquity, her beauty, her crowd of citizens, her power, her riches, her achievements in war. Putting all these on one side, for this I declare her blessed, that Paul wrote to the Romans, and loved them so, and came and preached to them, and closed his life here. Therefore is this

city illustrious, more than any one of all other cities."

It is only natural that a great homilist like Chrysostom should find more to say of Paul than of Peter, considering the comparative length of their contributions to the text of the New Testament. But Chrysostom's voluminous works cover a large area of other matter, and a reference to the entries in the Index to the whole of the thirteen great folio volumes of his writings under the headings *Paulus* and *Petrus* gives a curious result. There are under *Petrus* two and a half columns of entries, under *Paulus* more than ten columns.

In his *Quod Christus sit Deus*, Chrysostom has a passage which bears directly upon our contention as to the cult of St. Peter and St. Paul (*Opera*, i. 570). He is arguing that Peter and Paul are greater than kings and princes, an argument which appears in other forms in his writings. "In the royal city of Rome, there come running to the sepulchres of the fisherman and the tent maker, casting aside all other matters, emperors, consuls, dukes."

It is of course a matter of common knowledge that the Roman Catholic bishops still have to recognise the twinship of St. Peter and St. Paul by visiting, each four years, the *Limina Apostolorum*. Thus the "Catholic Herald" stated, 27th September, 1905, that "the Archbishop of Westminster left London to-day to pay a visit to the *Limina Apostolorum*." It is also a matter of common knowledge that Papal Bulls must run in the joint names of St. Peter and St. Paul if they are to be received as valid. It must be presumed that if ever any Pope made an infallible utterance, he must state as his co-equal patrons St. Peter and St. Paul; but

that is only a presumption, for it is not known, so far as the Christian world is informed, what are the formalities necessary for stamping an utterance as infallible.

In connection with the twinship of St. Peter and St. Paul as giving to Rome its position of supremacy, we have some most interesting evidence in the Imperial Edict of Donation, whose alleged author was Constantine the Great. It was forged, in the opinion of Muratori, between 755 and 766, and thus was quite a recent forgery in 774, when Karl, afterwards Charlemagne, ratified the Donation of his father Pepin. It shews clearly that in the belief of the Papal authorities the Romans of Constantine's time attributed the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome to its position as the resting-place of St. Peter and St. Paul, and that if any other view was expressed, the document would be revealed as a forgery. I take my extracts from the 1610 edition of Gotthard Voegelin, where, according to the title-page, the Latin Edict is given "in full, not truncated as by Gratian," and "a twofold Greek version is given, by Balsamon Patriarch of Antioch and Blastaris a Greek Canonist." It may be noted, though it appears to be immaterial, that the first page of the Latin Edict is not represented in the Greek Thespisma; it ends with the words *Postquam docente beato Silvestro trina me mersione verbi salutis purificatum et ab omni leprae squalore mundatum beneficiis beati Petri et Pauli Apostolorum cognovi.*

Bearing in mind that the whole document is a very careful forgery of about the date given above, and a forgery entirely in the interests of Rome itself, it is well to mark the balance of the twofold claim of Rome to pre-eminence. The claim is stated thus:—

It is just, that there the holy law hold the head of principality where the author of the holy laws, our Saviour, bade that the blessed Peter have the seat of apostleship, where also enduring the gibbet of the cross he drank the cup of a blessed death and stood forth as emulating the death of his own master and lord ; and that there the nations should bend the neck in confession of the name of Christ where their teacher the blessed Paul the Apostle was crowned by the stretching out of the neck of the martyr for Christ, and there should for all time seek their teacher where the body of the holy teacher rests.

The authors of the Greek version evidently saw that the balance of importance, or of reason for the resort of the nations to Rome, was in favour of the claim of St. Paul. They therefore altered the concluding words of this extract. The original Latin form is *ubi sancti doctoris corpus quiescit*. Their version gives “ where the relics of the holy ones repose,” ὅπου τὰ τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα ἀναπαύονται. Even so, it would still stand that the Emperor was represented as saying that for the “ teaching ”—the doctrine, shall we hazard ?—the nations were to look to St. Paul.

To continue our pertinent extracts.

We have therefore built the churches of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and we have made them rich with silver and gold ; there we have laid their most sacred bodies with great honour, having encased them in brilliant chests of precious metal which will withstand the efforts of the elements ; and we have placed on each chest a cross of the

purest gold adorned with gems of price, and we have made them safe with keys of gold.

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We have granted to my lords the holy Apostles themselves, the most blessed Peter and Paul, and through them to the blessed Silvester our father¹ the chief Pontiff and universal Pope of the City of Rome, and all the Pontiffs his successors who up to the end of the world shall sit in the seat of the blessed Peter,¹ and we do by this present grant the Lateran Palace of our empire which is exalted over and excels all palaces.

.

In the usual minatory clause at the end, all who disregard this grant are to know that they will have against them in this world and the next the holy chiefs of the Apostles of God, Peter and Paul. It may be noted that the Lateran Palace had descended as the Imperial residence to Constantine's wife Fausta. The learned editor makes an interesting comment on the recognition by Constantine of the *par utriusque meritum*, the equal merit of the two Apostles Peter and Paul. The fate of Paul, he says, resembles that of Pollux. The two brothers, Castor and Pollux, had a temple in common in the Forum, but it came to be called the Temple of Castor.

Constantine was made by the Roman forger to say that he chose for himself the chief of the Apostles or his vicars as his patrons with God. On this the editor quotes a remarkable passage from the monk Aimoin's

¹ These words are a significant anachronism at the pretended date.

"*Historiae Francorum Lib. v. Parisiis*," 1567, relating to Karl, afterwards Charlemagne. Karl formed the desire to see Rome, once the mistress of the world, and to visit the *limina* of the chief of the Apostles and the teacher of the nations . . . believing that it would be no slight aid to him and his sons if they received the royal emblems *from their Vicar, a vicario eorum*, that is, the Pope, the Vicar of St. Peter and St. Paul. Pope Hadrian I used a noteworthy phrase in a letter to Karl (Ep. 33, A.D. 794) of the highest importance, quite in the spirit of the Donation of Constantine and quite in the spirit of the true position of the Church of Rome—"as you bear faith and love towards the Church of the blessed chiefs of the Apostles Peter and Paul." *quantum erga beatorum principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ecclesiam fidem geritis et amorem.*

To anyone unfamiliar with the building up of the mediæval claims on the foundation of the temporal sovereignty, it must naturally appear to be almost incredible that such a forgery as the Edict of Donation should have been perpetrated. But that is a mere trifle to the document which at last forced Pepin, Karl's father, to make the Donation which Karl was induced to ratify in 774. Pepin had promised to help Pope Stephen against the Lombards, and to give to the Pope the sovereignty of all the territories which it was declared that Constantine had given. But Pepin deferred action in the matter. Stephen's straits were very pressing. The Lombards were at his gates. He wrote three times with increasing urgency to Pepin to come and help him, conjuring him by the Apostles Peter and Paul. The third letter informed him that a letter had been received from St. Peter himself, beginning with the words "I, Peter the Apostle." It

made a special appeal that his own body might be saved from desecration. "With me," it continued, "the mother of God likewise adjures you and admonishes you and commands you." "I will prepare for you the most glorious mansions in heaven; I will bestow upon you the everlasting joys of paradise." "I adjure you not to yield up this city to be lacerated and tormented by the Lombards, lest your own souls be lacerated and tormented in hell with the devil and his pestilential angels." The letter is of great length; surely the most important letter never written. On its receipt Pepin came; he made the Donation afterwards confirmed by his son Karl; and so it was—so apparently runs the history—that the Popes became temporal sovereigns.

It should be noted that Pepin ordered the keys of the cities he gave to the Pope to be collected, and offered at the Altar of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome.

In connection with early views as to the relative recognition of the two Apostles, we fortunately have a very early poem, written in Rome itself, on these twin martyrs. It is a poem by the earliest of the Christian poets, Prudentius. He was a Spaniard, of good birth and good position, holding some important post under the Emperor of his time. He was born in 348, thirty-five years after the great Edict of Constantine in favour of Christianity, eighty-seven years after the careless Emperor Gallienus had declared it for the first time a lawful religion.

Prudentius, whose official work lay far away from Rome, once at least in his lifetime visited the imperial city, probably about the year 400, certainly not much later, for he published his poems in 405. He was there at midsummer, on the festal day of St. Peter and St.

Paul, and he was stirred by the rejoicings in the city to write the poem of sixty-six lines, in quaint jumble of metres, which we possess. At every point in the long poem there is opportunity for expressing the supremacy of St. Peter ; at no point is there the slightest indication of the existence of any idea of the kind.

The people come together for rejoicings in unwonted manner ; tell me, my friend, what it means. They run about, all over Rome, in triumph.

It is the anniversary day of the Apostolic triumph, ennobled with the blood of Paul and of Peter, *Pauli atque Petri nobilis cruore*.

The selfsame day, but with a year's interval, saw each crowned with a proud death.

The first sentence by the laws of Nero took Peter, ordered to hang on the illustrious beam.

Then follows the account of St. Peter's unwillingness to seem worthy to die by the same death as his Lord, and his request to be crucified with his head downwards.

When the course of the world had run through a whole year, and the sun brought back the same day.

Nero vomited forth fervid fury against the neck of Paul, he ordered the teacher of the gentiles to be slain.

Then follows the account of St. Paul having declared that his martyrdom would take place on the same day of the year and at the same hour as St. Peter's martyrdom, one year after.

The two martyrdoms having been described, Prudentius proceeds to describe the places of martyrdom and to give details of the manner in which they were

marked by beautiful buildings. The description is very picturesque as far as St. Peter's site is concerned, and very fine architecturally for the buildings on St. Paul's site, the Tiber flowing between the two. A very careful consideration of all the phrases employed fails to see any sign of an idea in the mind of Prudentius that the people of Rome paid any sort of special honour to St. Peter as contrasted with St. Paul.

The poem ends with a distich addressed by the poet to himself.

Enough for thee to have learned this of Rome ;
return to your own land and remember to keep this
the bifestal day.

We of the Church of England are fortunate in possessing evidence of the care with which our most learned ancestors in Oldest England balanced the claims of St. Peter and St. Paul and declared their equality of pryncedom. It is nothing less than ludicrous in this connection to see the whole of the Roman bishops in England in 1893 writing of "the special worship always paid by the English to the Prince of the Apostles as '*Primary Patron*' of their kingdom." It is quite untrue of the early "Church of the English," in whose time if ever the Primary Patronage must have been established ; and it would appear that the early English were not aware of its being true even for the "Roman Church."

We have among the collected works of Aldhelm of Malmesbury, the first of the long line of English scholars whose works have come down to us, a poem on the altars dedicated to the Blessed Mary and the Twelve Apostles, probably in one of the churches built by him between A.D. 670 and 700. The order in which

the persons to whom the altars were dedicated are mentioned is as follows, the numbers after the names showing the number of verses assigned to each ; the Virgin Mary (31), St. Peter (36), St. Paul (36), St. Andrew (16), St. James (14), St. John (19), St. Thomas Didymus (25), St. James the Lord's cousin (36), St. Philip (18), St. Bartholomew (14), St. Matthew (20), St. Simon Zelotes (10), St. Thaddeus (27), St. Matthias (13). It will be seen that St. Matthias is numbered among the twelve Apostles, and St. Paul is added to the twelve, that St. Paul is placed second, and is honoured in as many verses as St. Peter and St. James, no one else, not even the Virgin Mary, having so many. It is difficult to see any distinction of treatment as among the thirteen Apostles. The verses describe their trials and their works. The Virgin Mary is urged to hear mercifully the prayers of the people, who moisten the ground with their tears and beat the earth with bended knee, earning pardon by the fount of tears, and blotting out the sins of life by frequent prayers. No such address is made to any one of the thirteen who are honoured next ; but at the end Aldhelm prays them all to lighten the burden of his sins and loose his offences by pardon, that relying on divine grace he may ultimately reach heaven.

In another poem Aldhelm writes only of St. Peter and St. Paul. The poem is said in his collected works to have been written on the occasion of his visiting the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome ; ¹

¹ There is a curious mention of a basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, in the year 746, in the account of a letter of Saints Peter and Paul, the Apostles, which fell down from heaven to St. Athanasius, the Patriarch of Alexandria, when performing divine service in the Basilica. See page 6 of the Introduction to *Das Äthiopische Briefbuch*, F. Prætorius: Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1869.

but William of Malmesbury, who incorporates this poem in his "Life of Aldhelm," states positively that it was composed on the occasion of the dedication of the new and larger church which Aldhelm had built at Malmesbury in honour of the Saviour and the chief Apostles Peter and Paul.

"Here, in this fair place, Peter and Paul, the lights of a dark world, the chief Fathers who guide the reins of the people, are venerated with frequent song.

"Key-bearer of heaven, who openest the portal of the upper air, and uncloset the white realms of the Thunderer of the skies, mercifully hear the vows of the people who pray, moistening the dry ground with showers of tears. Accept the sobs of those who groan for their offences, who burn up with frequent prayer the sins of their life. Lo ! thou greatest Doctor, Paul, called from the heavens Saul (now with changed name Paul) when thou didst aim at setting the old law above Christ, and after darkness didst begin to see the clear light ; open now benignant ears to the voice of them that pray, and as their guardian stretch forth with Peter thy right hand to the trembling ones, who flock to the sacred thresholds of the church ; that here may be granted continuous indulgence of offences, flowing from abundant piety and the fount on high which never through the ages grows sluggish for men of worth."

We must regard the evidence of Aldhelm as of primary importance in the consideration of the view held in "Old England." His natural temperament would have revelled in the celebration of the sole supremacy of St. Peter if he had been aware of it.

William of Malmesbury has preserved for us yet another poem on the relative merits of St. Peter and

St. Paul. In his monograph on the Antiquities of the Church of Glastonbury, he tells us that King Ina of Wessex, on the advice of Aldhelm as we learn elsewhere, built a church at Glastonbury and dedicated it to the Saviour and the Apostles Peter and Paul. The poem is mainly a comparison between the two Apostles. It is difficult to see who other than Aldhelm, in that age and in that land, could have written the verses. But the genius of Aldhelm was on the whole too pompatic to be pleased with the lilt of pentameters ; and it must be confessed that if Aldhelm was the author, he produced a copy of verses much more smooth and elegant than was his wont. The substance of ten of the lines of the poem is as follows :—

Two gates of the heavens, two lights of the wide world,
 Paul thunders with voice, Peter lightens from the sky.

The one loftier in degree, the other more learned in teaching.
 The hearts of men are opened by the one, the stars by the other ;

Whom the one teaches with the pen the other receives in
 the pole.

The one opens the way to heaven with teaching, the other with
 keys ;

To whom Paul is the way to him Peter is the trusty gate.
 The one remains the firm stone, the other is the architect.

Against the hostile torch two bulwarks rise—

The city the head of the world has these its towers of faith.

It is worth while, in this connection, to turn to Bede's poems, and see what he has to say on this subject of the relative claims of St. Peter and St. Paul.

In the preface to his long poem on the Miracles of St. Cuthbert, he speaks of the several parts of the earth made illustrious by the presence of Apostles and other great teachers. He begins with Rome, and all that he says of Rome is this :—

Rome, delighting in the twin splendour of Peter and Paul.
Will ever live rejoicing in the trophies of the Apostles.

That, beyond all doubt, is the true statement of the religious claims of Rome upon the affection of religious minds in the ages of which we are speaking.

In a special poem of more than ninety lines "On the Apostles Peter and Paul," commencing impartially thus—

Apostolorum gloriam
Hymnis canamus debitis,

The glory of the Apostles
Let us sing in due verse.

he carefully and ingeniously balances the claims and merits of the two, and gives the palm to each equally. Both, he says, drew by their teaching the various errors of the nations to the grace of truth. The sacred Prince of the Church saw Jesus in the mount and heard the voice of the Father from the fiery sky ; Paul ascended to the third heaven of the bright pole and heard hidden things which it is not lawful to utter to any other. The steps of Cephias on the waves are aided by the right hand of Christ, who raises his own that they be not drowned in the sea of the world ; Paul showed that the dangers of the world can be overcome by the faith of them that believe, when he saved from the waves his shipwrecked companions. After two more parallels of this character, introducing the good fishes and the tent-making, the miracle of the lame man and of the handkerchiefs, Bede continues thus :—
"Peter desires to follow the footsteps of Christ, to reach whom he dreads not by the cruel ladder of the cross ; Paul enters the palace of the heavenly realm by the sword, for who fears God gladly gives his head to the steel. Thus the Princes of the Church, thus the

true lights of the world, by noble triumph over death received the palm of glory ; whose illustrious trophies happy Rome now contains, whose crowns the circuit of the whole earth celebrates. ”

The complete absence of even the faintest allusion to the Petrine claims as developed in the dark ages is a noteworthy fact.

It may be of interest to give a translation of the Collect, Secreta, and Postcommunio, for the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, found in the so-called Gregorian Missal of St. Augustine’s Canterbury, now preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 270, edited by Mr. Martin Rule. The Collect is as follows :—“ O God, whose right hand raised the blessed Peter, walking on the waves, so that he should not sink, and saved from the depth of the sea his co-Apostle Paul when shipwrecked for the third time, mercifully hear us, and grant that by the merits of both we may attain to the glory of eternity : who, with God the Father, etc.” The Secreta is as follows :—“ We offer unto Thee, Lord, prayers and gifts ; and that they may be worthy of Thy sight, we beseech the help of the prayers of Thine Apostles Peter and Paul : through, etc.” And the Postcommunio :—“ Protect, O Lord, Thy people ; and preserve them with perpetual defence, who trust in the patronage of Thine Apostles Peter and Paul : through, etc.”

We have an interesting and instructive example of the change of expression from “ the thresholds of St. Peter and St. Paul ” to “ the thresholds of St. Peter.” It occurs in a letter of the English Boniface, who brought Germany into ecclesiastical order under commission from the Pope. It may be said in passing that he was careful to point out that the Pope’s commission

was not the means of his success, for without the material power of the Frankish rulers he could neither have ruled nor protected the Christian people, nor restrained paganism and idolatry. Still, he was sworn to obey the Pope, and he was a firm maintainer of the papal power when rightly exercised, and of the Papal claims.

An English abbess, Eangyth, and her only daughter Eadburg, called Bugge (the sprite or fairy), wrote¹ to Boniface in Germany about the year 733 to consult him about a visit to Rome. They pointed out that others had "left their native land, and trusted themselves to the seas, and sought the thresholds of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul." Boniface addressed his reply "Buggan abbatissæ," "to Abbess Bugge," her mother probably being dead, monasteries going in those days hereditarily. He advises her that if the interference or intervention of secular persons prevents her having opportunity for quiet life and religious contemplation at home, she should eventually do as Sister Wetburg had done, who had written to him that she had found that quiet life "at the thresholds of the holy Peter." This, I think, indicates—coming as it does with other like indications—that the Old English attraction to Rome as "the thresholds of the blessed Apostles" still held in full force, but that when they got to Rome they found St. Paul becoming dwarfed by the new cult of St. Peter alone, and altered their phrase accordingly.

When the English people got to Rome they would not see much difference in the housing of the bodies of the two Saints. In Constantine's time St. Paul's body lay so near the main road that a church aligned

¹ Ep. xxx. in Migne's edition.

as the principle was with the position of the body, the feet eastward, could only be quite small, more like an oratory than a great Roman basilica whether pagan or Christian. But Theodosius, by the clever plan of a transverse nave, built in 388 the magnificent church which until its destruction by fire in 1823 was "the finest and most interesting church in Rome." It was in this noble church that they visited the sacred remains. There is still to be seen the original marble slab, on which is cut in letters ten inches long of the fourth century, *Paulo Apostolo Mart.* This the English visitors must have seen when they penetrated to the remains of the martyr. The two churches of St. Paul and St. Peter appear to have been treated alike by one Pope and another. Of our own Gregory it is said that he caused masses to be celebrated over the body of St. Peter, probably placing an altar for the purpose in the actual chamber in the floor of which the body lay; and it is added,¹ "and he did the same for the church of St. Paul." It is curious that Eddi in his account of Wilfrith's visit to Rome sends him first not to St. Peter, nor to St. Paul, but to St. Andrew, the church of Augustine, now called the church of St. Gregory. It was there that he saw the splendid gospel book which he had reproduced for his church at Ripon.

It has some bearing upon the cultus of St. Paul in connection with England, as contrasted with St. Peter, that the great Church of St. Paul at Rome was in the patronage of the English kings.

Among the most interesting of recent discoveries at Rome is the finding of a marble sarcophagus constructed to hold two bodies, in the excavated oratory at St. Sebastiano on the Appian Way, where tradition

¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 312.



THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL.
Door of St. Peter's, A.D. 1447

had it that the bodies first lay. It would appear that they lay in one tomb. They were removed on one and the same day, according to the ancient Calendars, to their present positions. It is a curiously characteristic fact that the "Feast of the Chair of St. Peter" has appropriated¹ the day, which in some of the oldest Calendars is noted as the Feast of the removal of the two bodies, the Deposition of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The great brazen Doors of St. Peter's testify to the twinship of St. Peter and St. Paul as the greatest glory of Rome in their martyrdom. They are shewn in Plates 1 and 2.

It was not the English only whose object in going to Rome was to visit the tombs of the twin Apostles. A fair minded and deeply learned Irish Roman bishop—afterwards archbishop—John Healy, who passed away while this address was being prepared for publication, wrote thus in his *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum* (p. 481)—"It is stated in the ancient Life of Finbarr that, like many other of the Irish saints of his time, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome—to the threshold of the Apostles." And on the same page he writes—"It was, Giraldus says, the custom in those times for the Irish to go on pilgrimage to Rome in order to venerate the shrines of the Apostles."

In this connection a stanza may be quoted from Aubrey de Vere's translation of St. Columba's "Song of Lament," composed when he visited, on the eve of his exile, his well-loved isle of Aran :—

O Aran, Sun of all the West !
My heart is thine ! As sweet to close
Our dying eyes in thee, as rest
Where Peter and where Paul repose.

¹ "St. Peter at Rome," pages 139, 140. A. S. Barnes : London, 1900.

We have interesting illustrations of our main contention in the Irish Martyrologies. Thus the Martyrdom of Oengus has on June 29—

Feil poil 7 petair

“The Feast of Paul and Peter with the vastness of crying unto them : the noise of battle which is on the world surpasseth it not ” (“Lebar Brecc,” page 90).

The lection on St. Paul follows. There was not room left for a lection on St. Peter, and it is written in the lower margin of the page.

The Martyrology of Gorman has—

Petar Pol ar primchind

“Peter Paul our leading chiefs.”

A curious example of the omission of the name of St. Paul from joint mention with that of St. Peter, or rather from primary joint mention, is found in Russia. The great day now named Petrov-den, Peter-Day, is named Pavlo-Petrov-den, Paul-Peter-Day, in the old Slavonic ritual books. In Gogol’s “Remarks on the Russian Liturgy” there is a note “on Pavlo-Petrov-den the priest shall say, All merciful and blessed Lord God, who didst cause thy blessed Apostles St. Paul and St. Peter the fisherman to suffer on one day by the violence of the cruel people of Rome.” That is very non-Petrine and non-Roman. The learned Russians have dwelled upon this change. They seem to agree that it was not made from any such desire as brought it about in the Roman Church, the desire to assert the primary claim of St. Peter. Indeed, any argument about St. Peter’s supremacy would probably have had the opposite influence if it had been put forward. Learned Russians give the following information. The Paulician heresy was so

much detested in those lands, that the name Paul had acquired an evil flavour. Besides that, the name in itself, apart from any personality, had no special meaning for the people, had no link with any of their traditions, pagan or early Christian. The word Peter (*petra*, stone) on the other hand was very closely bound up with their pagan mythology. In southern Russia a stone has been found with the inscription *Petrae Genitrici*, to the stone that begets the god; "The god out of the womb of the stone" (ὁ ἐκ πέτρας) was a constant mystical epithet of Mithras. The peasant mind has transferred much of the legend of the old stone worship to Peter.¹ So far I am informed. It is obvious to remind ourselves of the fact that Petersburg, the fortress of Peter the Great, was almost universally transformed into St. Petersburg, thus giving the impression that Russia was—in the modern Roman phrase—under the primary patronage of St. Peter.

In thanking the Roman bishops for having called our attention to all this striking evidence of the cultus of a twinship of princedom in St. Peter and St. Paul, it is only right to point out that the evidence of the twinship of princedom has not anything to do with any recognition by the Church or Realm of England of any special patronage with the heavenly powers. Whatever phrases one Pope or another may have used, it is clearly to England itself that we must look for any definite statement on the subject of such patronage. It will surprise many of our own church, it would --we might suppose--have surprised many of the Roman bishops whose assertions we have been follow-

¹ I owe this information to one of the clergy of my late diocese of Bristol, the Reverend D. P. Harrison, Rector of Lydiard Millicent.

ing, to hear that the English Church has made a definite pronouncement on the subject. The pronouncement is absolutely fatal to the Roman contention, is fatal to the patronage alike of St. Peter and of St. Paul and of the two Saints in combination. Soon after Boniface of Crediton was martyred, in 755, Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury was holding a general synod. Among many other matters, the synod dealt with the terrible news of the slaughter of Boniface and his whole Christian party. Boniface had been well known and highly regarded in his early years in his native land, and he had always kept up his connection with the home folk by frequent letters and by messengers. Cuthbert wrote to Lull, Boniface's successor, another Wessex man, in the name of himself as *servus servorum Dei*, and of his fellow bishops, and of the priests and abbats present at the Synod, informing him that they specially desired to have, and undoubtingly believed that they had, Boniface as their patron before Christ the Lord, along with the blessed Gregory and Augustine.¹

We must make a long jump, and reach the twelfth century, in order to reach the document which more than any other document known to me sets before us the real claim of Rome, as stated by a Pope, upon England, and the view taken by a Pope of the twinship of St. Peter and St. Paul. This document is the letter of Pope Pascal II (1099-1118) to our King Henry I. It contains also a delightful statement of the freedom of England from papal control. Whether the Pastoral would regard England of 1115 as still "Old England," the vagueness of the Pastoral's dates renders it im-

¹ *Epistolae merowingici et karolini aevi*, ep. iii, and my *Boniface of Crediton*, ch. xvii.

possible to say. Pascal's letter is so angry, although Henry's selection of him as the one of three persons claiming to be the true Pope had enabled him to emerge as the real Pope, that we may be sure he states his claim upon England in its most effective form. He does not mention the Virgin Mary. He declares that in the division of the world among the Apostles, Europe was allotted to St. Peter and St. Paul, and from them the authority had come to the Popes *as their vicars*. Dominus et Magister . . . Europae fines Petro singulariter commisit et Paulo. . . . Unde usque ad nos, licet indignos eorum vicarios haec consuetudo pervenit, ut per nostrae sedis vicarios graviora ecclesiarum per provincias negotia pertractentur seu retractentur. He had begun his letter with a net statement of the foundation of the Christian Ministry in three stages. First, the Holy Spirit had declared there should be made princes in all lands. Next, Paul had given injunctions as to the creation of this ministry by laying on of hands. Thirdly, Peter had been bidden by the Lord to feed the sheep (Eadmer, *Hist. Nov. Rolls Series*, p. 232).

It can scarcely be expected that in this summary of evidences, collected gradually in a very busy life, no slips have been made. Great care has been taken to avoid misquotation or unfairness, and there has been no conscious suppression of statements in the documents used.

THE EARLY CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CHURCHES OF BRITAIN AND IRELAND

PART I

Agricola—First mentions of Britain in the Irish Annals—Ninian—
Palladius—Ogam inscriptions in Wales—St. Patrick—Mochta
of Louth—Other Britons in Ireland—Maildubh and Malmesbury
—Irish monks at Selsey.

THE statements about Ireland, made by Tacitus in his account of his father-in-law Agricola, are well known. They are of far-reaching importance.

That famous Roman general, commanding in chief in Britain in A.D. 82, manned with troops that part of the British coast which faced Hibernia, not because he feared danger, but because he thought that Ireland, lying, as his geography put it, between Britain and Spain, and commanding the Gallic sea, would eventually form a link to unite Britain and Spain, and thus form a very strong part of the Roman empire. Agricola had given shelter to one of the petty Irish chieftains whom faction had driven from home, and kept him in friendly guise to be used as occasion might offer. "I have often heard my father-in-law say that with one legion and a fair number of irregulars Hibernia could be overpowered and held ; and, further, that it would be helpful to shew the Britons that the Roman arms went everywhere, and that before them freedom disappeared."

If Agricola had carried out the policy thus foreshadowed, and Roman roads had been made in Ireland, and the Roman postal service established, and municipal institutions set up, the history and the present condition of Ireland would have been much more like than it is to that of Scotland in many respects, and to that of England in others.

Of the early connection between the Churches of Britain and Ireland there is so much to say that the chief difficulty is that of representative selection. The enquiry into the first mentions of secular connection between the two islands gives a curious result. The first secular Irish account in the *Annals of the Four Masters* which names a Briton tells of Arthur, a Briton, son of Bicar, killing with a stone one Mongan, the son of an Irish king, in 620. This Mongan is briefly and characteristically described in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* much as the Irishman of some three generations ago used to be described in our novels; he was "a very well-spoken man, much given to the wooing of women." It was no doubt on that side of his character that he interfered with Arthur, who effectively dealt with the interference. Both the name of the Briton, and the fact that in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* he is called a Welshman, and the general conditions, suggest a landing of marauding Irishmen on the coast of Wales. But a later account, in the vague poetical style of the Celt, names Cantire as the scene of the exploit, and three princes who were killed besides Mongan. The statement is as follows:—

Beg Boirche, King of Uladh, 703–716, said:

Cold is the wind across Ile, which they have at
Ceann-tire,

They shall commit a cruel deed in consequence, they shall kill Mongan, son of Fiachna.

Where the church of Cluain-Airthir is at this day, renowned were the four there executed,

Cormac Caemh with shouting, and Illan, son of Fiachra;

And the other two, to whom many territories paid tribute,

Mongan, son of Fiachna Lurgan, and Ronan, son of Tuathal.

This points to something much more serious than a raid of small dimensions.

Some time ago I examined the Irish "Annals of the Four Masters" for the first secular references to Britain. The references are characteristic of a permanent state of hostility, quite in accordance with this mention of the dealings of Arthur with Mongan. They all fall in the Anglo-Saxon times, and all speak of the inhabitants of this island as Britons. They tell of battles with Britons, of slaughter of important Irishmen by Britons, of slaughter of Britons who had joined an Irish king in the usual occupation of Irish kings, fighting against Irish kings. They tell us also of a fact that is not conducive to a sense of our patriotic pride. Banishment to Britain was their severest penalty, short of death. Indeed there is a charming story of Columba before Augustine's time, which goes even further than that, and shews us his personal view that death in Ireland was preferable to life in Britain.

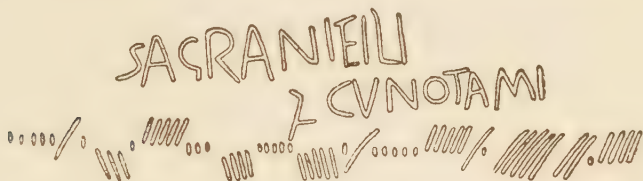
We must now turn to earlier times, when the land which we call England was occupied by Britons and in part by the Celtic peoples who preceded the Britons in the invasion of this island. The first time we find

Britain and Ireland connected by Christian work, the influence is from Britain and not from Ireland. A Briton, by name Ninian, or as they call him still in the south-west of Scotland, Ringan, was born about 360, and set up in Galloway a monastery and a school of learning, building the first church of white stone in those parts, at the place called in Latin Candida Casa—in the later vernacular Whit-horn. To his school of learning there came Irish and British students, evidently in considerable numbers. It was indeed the chief of the schools of learning to which such students could go. His original purpose was a missionary one, and he was successful in bringing large portions of that part of the land which we now call Scotland to a knowledge of Christ. His reputation as a teacher was so great in Ireland that he was taken over to that country—in fact or in fable—and founded there a church. In affection for their teacher the Irish gave him the name—in their own land—of Monenn, that is, dear Ninian. We know one fixed date in his life ; he was just completing his stone church when his friend Martin of Tours died, and that was in the year 397. He is believed to have lived and worked in his native land for many years after that. His Irish pupils, during all those years, produced no doubt some effect by teaching the Christian faith in Ireland, and thus may have to some extent prepared the way for St. Patrick, whose work in Ireland lasted from 432 to 461. It has become rather a fashion to make little of the work of Ninian, especially of that part of it which tradition locates in Ireland. It may be suggested in opposition to this tendency that Irish tradition is not as a rule unduly favourable to British intervention in the affairs of Ireland, whether ecclesiastical or secular.

Another Christian influence in Ireland of about this date, still before St. Patrick, is that of Palladius, who is said to have been sent by Pope Celestine in 431 as the first bishop of the Scots (Irish). It appears to be an even chance that he was of British origin. Such traditions as they have in Ireland assign to him a good deal of church work in Wicklow and Kildare. His time in Ireland was at most very short; and his personal history is obscure, especially because Palladius was not at all an uncommon name then. There had been before this time a close connection between the south of the country which we call Wales, and the south of Ireland. This is evident by the existence of a large number of sepulchral inscriptions in characters of such strangeness that it is impossible to regard the examples found in Wales and Ireland as independent one of the other. So far as England and Wales are concerned, these Ogam characters are practically peculiar to this southern district of Wales, and the language which they represent is the early Celtic which we know as Erse, the foundation of the Gaelic languages of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. That Britain was the more lettered of the two islands is clear from the fact that most or many of the Ogam sepulchral inscriptions found in Wales have an accompanying and identical inscription in the Latin language and in the characters of the Romano-British people, while the Ogams in Ireland are almost never in association with an inscription in other characters or languages. The Ogam inscriptions in Caledonia are, fortunately, beyond the scope of our present enquiry.

The first of these bilingual and biliteral inscriptions—if Ogams can be called letters—was brought before the modern archæologists in 1848. The stone itself

is at St. Dogmaels, near Cardigan, where it had been known in Camden's time as a stone with a Romano-British inscription. When the Ogam inscription was recognised in 1848, the then Professor Graves considered it to be "as valuable a key to the Ogam mode of writing as the Rosetta stone was to Egyptian hieroglyphics." The figure shews the double inscription.



Latin : Sagramni fili Cunotami.

Ogam : Sagramni maqi Cunatami.

[The Memorial Stone] of Sagram son of Cunotam.

[The Memorial Stone] of Sagramn son of Cunatam.

The vowel change in the penultimate syllable of the paternal name, on which the accent lies, is of great linguistic interest. Zimmer,¹ noting the fact that the ancient British and Irish languages were both of them dialects of Celtic, remarks three differences in sound distinguishable in the fourth century. The first difference is that the old Celtic long *a* was preserved in Irish, but developed a different pronunciation in British, changing through long *a* to long *o*, so that old Irish *lan*, *lar*, *mar*, became old British *lon*, *lor*, *mor*. Sixty years ago—it may be true still—the teachers of Hebrew differed in the pronunciation of long *a*, some pronouncing it *ar*, others *aw*; presumably the British pronounced long *o* as *aw*.

¹ *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, David Nutt, 1902.

It is not infrequently a mistake in archæology to date an inscription on the assumption that a name mentioned in it proves the identity of the person named with some well-known person of that name. In the present case it appears not improbable that Cunotam represents the name of the father of Ceredig, from whom Cardigan takes its name, while Ceredig is rather confidently identified with Coroticus or Ceretic, to whom, as we shall see, Patrick addressed a vehement complaint. This identification, while exceedingly interesting, would assign an unnecessarily late date to the St. Dogmaels' inscription. But however that may be, the fact of the frequent use of the Ogam script in that part of Wales seems to place us on safe ground when we assert that when Britain was still under the influence of the Roman Empire, there was a reflex settlement of Irish natives in South Wales, who found there a civilisation which did not exist in their own land.

As a matter of fact, the Irish have a tradition that there was such a settlement. An Irish tribe, called in the tradition the Desii, was driven out of their land in Meath, where their name still survives in the Deece Baronies, as also in Waterford, Decies within Drum and Decies without Drum, where some of the fugitives appear to have settled and remained. Other Irish people, also, according to the tradition, settled in considerable numbers in South Wales. This was not improbably the first definite connection of Ireland with the Roman Empire, the first real link with Latin letters and institutions. By this link we cannot doubt that both the literature and the Christianity of the Roman Empire reached Ireland through Britain before the time of Ninian, and therefore before the time of Patrick.

It is very interesting to note a reflex connection between St. Dogmael's and Ireland. We find the following passage in an admirable account of the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske, in Kilkenny, by Lady Constance Butler and the Archbishop (Bernard) of Dublin (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxxv. C. I, 1918):—"At the end of the twelfth century a Benedictine priory was founded at Glassecarrig, near Govey, Co. Wexford, from the Abbey of St. Dogmael's in Pembrokeshire. And in 1223 two carucates of land in Bantry, which had been granted to Glassecarrig Priory by Adam de Caunteton, were transferred to the Abbey of Duiske by an agreement made by Andrew, Abbot of St. Dogmael's, between the Prior of Glassecarrig and Thomas the Abbot of Duiske."

We must now turn to the most famous of our early British Apostles of Ireland, St. Patrick. In remarking upon the details of his position and history, it is almost unnecessary to warn the reader that few of the points are uncontroverted. Widely different views are held by one historian and another.

Patrick was born about 389, in Britain, the son of a deacon, Calpurnius, and grandson of a priest, Potitus, both of them landed proprietors and decurions, that is, members of the governing council of a town under the Roman Empire—an onerous office. Under the year 432, the Annals of the Four Masters give his pedigree for fifteen generations, running up to his earliest ancestor there recorded, "Britain, otter of the sea, from whom the vigorous Britons come." The description of this founder of the race of Britons, eighteen years before the birth of Christ, as the "otter of the sea," is a curious forecast of our naval supre-

macy. The earliest pedigree of Woden runs the Angles and Saxons up to our Lord's time.

It has usually been held that Patrick was a native of the south-west of Caledonia, perhaps because of the letter which he wrote in his old age to the King of Strathclyde ; but the best supported view is that he was a native of South Wales. Certainly his native place was not far from the western sea, for he was carried off from his home into slavery in Ireland by Irish marauders, who landed from their ship and pillaged the neighbourhood. Bannaventa was the name of his village then, and there are at least three places called Banwen in Glamorganshire. After his escape from captivity among the Irish pagans of the north-east or north-west, he sailed southwards and landed on the coast of Gaul. He studied for a number of years in the South of France at Lérins, and later at Auxerre. Between these two famous places of study he visited once more, for the last time, his home in Britain, where his kinsfolk implored him to stay permanently with them. He had upon him the two desires which he ultimately stamped upon some congenial place in the Irish character—the desire to learn and the desire to travel to difficult and dangerous parts to teach the Gospel. So he went back to Gaul and worked at Auxerre, where he was ordained deacon about the year 415. He never became a cultivated scholar, and to the last he was aware that his style was rustic. Probably this was the cause of his remaining some fourteen years a deacon, and throughout that long period being never sent, as he always desired, to preach the Gospel to his former slaveowners. When Palladius, of whom we have made mention, died, Germanus had become Bishop of Auxerre, where

Palladius is said to have entered upon holy orders as a deacon, and he consecrated Patrick bishop and sent him to Ireland in the year 432. There he worked till his death in 461. The result of that thirty years of work was the Christianising of large pagan areas in Ireland, and the founding of that desire for knowledge which, in turn, came back in the early English times as a blessing to this island of ours, which, in the British times, had carried it to Ireland. For our present purpose it is of some interest and importance to observe that the greatest of Patrick's successes with the pagan rulers turned upon the presence of British princesses. Loigaire, the high king of Ireland through the whole of Patrick's life in Ireland, had a British wife. His son Phelim also had a British wife, and her son Fortcherrn—a suspiciously Romano-British name, practically Vortigern—was the first convert to Christianity on the banks of the Boyne.

It may be noted here that much as Ireland owed in its Christian infancy to Britain, it did not desire any great influx of British influence. The earliest regulations of the Irish Church which have come down to us are emphatic in that direction. They will not have clerks going about from place to place ; will not have churches founded without the permission of the Irish bishop. No cleric from Britain was allowed to minister in Ireland unless he brought a letter of testimonial from his ecclesiastical superior in Britain. It is rather curious that these same regulations, which were quite usual in national churches then, and were in fact taken direct from Canons of Greek Councils, had, in course of time, to be made by other national churches against invasion by Irish clerics and bishops, and in a more drastic form. The itinerant Irish bishop, without

commissions and sometimes without credentials, became a serious nuisance in Gaul. Patrick had, or thought he had, good reason for keeping British influence out of Ireland. He wrote a vehement letter to Coroticus, Ceretic, the British King of Strathclyde, charging him with the guilt of a great outrage committed by his heathen allies, the Picts of the south-west of Caledonia. They had invaded Ireland, massacred many Irish converts, and carried others off as slaves, selling them to heathen masters. In this letter he complains that his work in Ireland is regarded in his own country, Britain, with envy and uncharitableness. There is the same bitter note of resentment of British jealousy and detraction in the "Confession" which he wrote in his old age. He kept with him throughout his work in Ireland at least one or two of his British fellow-countrymen. One of these, Mochta of Louth, became a Saint. We learn in a rather curious way that he was a Briton. Adamnan, in his delightful "Life of St. Columba," only once mentions St. Patrick. That in itself is curious enough, but more curious still St. Patrick is mentioned not on his own account, but only because of Mochta, who prophesied of the birth of Columba as to take place "in the latest ages of the world." St. Patrick's fellow-worker, Mochta, is described by Adamnan as *proselytus Brito*, a British visitor. The absence of Patrick's name from Adamnan's pages ceases to be curious when we realise the jealousy of the native Irish Columbite churchmen against the Brythonic Romano-Britons represented by Patrick and his company.

Another identification makes an Irish Saint Odhran, who was a Briton, the same as Odhran, Patrick's martyred charioteer, but there was more than one

Odhran. The British of to-day may view with complacency the record of St. Mochta, the *proselytus Brito*. His story gives us twelve fellow-workers whom he brought with him to Ireland. He ousted the Druids—the *Magi*, or Magicians—from their landed property, and founded on it one of the five fifth-century schools of learning. Incidentally we learn that there was a family of British Saints in Ireland, as there were families of British Saints in Wales. In fact, if the origin of the Saints in the Irish Calendars is looked into, it is found that many of them besides Patrick and Mochta were British by race.

One memorial of Patrick's progresses has been lost, as no doubt many another has been. The particular memorial referred to would have been of priceless value if it had survived. Patrick would appear to have taken with him, from the Romano-British part of South Wales in which we suppose that he lived as a boy, the practice of incising names on stones. The Tripartite Life tells us that Patrick inscribed on three stones the words Jesus, Salvator, Soter, on what authority we do not know. But we have positive evidence of inscriptions on a larger scale. Tirechan, a bishop, a disciple of Bishop Ultan who died in 657, wrote a memoir of Patrick after Ultan's death, and shortly after the plague of 664. We may put the date of the memoir about 670, or earlier, for the plague was *novissima*, very recent. Tirechan tells us that on three stones on a hill near Lake Selce he read the names of Patrick and his companions. It would appear that on one stone Patricius was the only name; on another stone two more bishops; and on another eight presbyters and two sisters of one of the presbyters. Inasmuch as some at least of these presbyters were

consecrated bishop by Patrick, the inscriptions were not very late in his career.

Patrick entered upon much of the property which had belonged to the priests of the old paganism, the order of Druids or Magi. In order that entry on landed property might be recognised and legalised, he had to seek the good offices of the third order of Irish authorities, the Brehons, or Judges. The goodwill and protection of the several kings he secured by giving them presents, and he pursued the same policy with the Brehons to secure himself, and the clergy whom he settled here and there, in the permanent possession of the lands on which they settled. It is not necessary to describe this policy as bribery, or to regard the Brehons as acting unjustly or illegally in the matter. On the contrary, we may credit them with prudent readiness to plant in places under their jurisdiction such important elements of local law and order as the resident Christian priest. Patrick tells us the story in his "*Confessio*." He defrayed the whole of these Brehon expenses out of his own pocket ; unfortunately he does not tell us how his pockets came to be so well filled. In these days of ours we state the cost of pieces of landed property in hundreds of thousands of pounds, and our expenses in the law courts in any number of guineas. Patrick states his expenditure in other values. He had distributed among the Brehons at least the value of fifteen men.

It has been remarked that the several parts of St. Patrick's biography have been the subject of much dispute. The most thoroughgoing disbeliever is Professor Zimmer. Zimmer's theory is¹ that Palladius and Patricius are one and the same person—this

¹ *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, already quoted.

being a guess that has occurred to many readers at first sight ; that Christianity already existed in Ireland before A.D. 432 when Patrick came to Ireland ; and that he died on the 17th of March, 459, having made so slight an impression on Ireland, except in his own special part of the country, that he was forgotten, and was not mentioned by historians till two hundred years after ; and that at that later date there was a great attempt to assign a supremacy to Armagh, and the legendary St. Patrick was built up on the very little that was known of the real Patrick.

Zimmer makes many good points, and he has some interesting remarks on his historical Patrick's names. We know that the real Patrick was as a boy called *Sucat*, variously spelled. The British meaning of that name was "a good fighter." For use when he went to Rome he translated that into *Palladius*, a fighting name from connection with the goddess *Pallas*. When he went to Ireland, he desired to show by his name the descent of which he was so proud, and he took a new name, *Patricius*, the *Patrician*. *Tirechan*, in his legendary account, mentions two place-names connected by tradition with St. Patrick, though in the seventh century the Irish did not know how the name was connected with the name Patrick. These names were *Petra Coithrigi* in County Meath, and *Petra Coithrigi* in Cashel in Munster. *Cothrige* was evidently the name by which he was known to the Irish of his own time, the middle of the fifth century, when the Irish turned the P of British names into K, the hard C, and the Roman *a* into *o*.¹ *Cothrig* is thus *Pathrig*, or *Patrick*.

While Zimmer made, as has been said, many good

¹ See the remarks on the St. Dogmael's inscriptions on page 95.

points, the records are against his most serious point, namely, that Patrick did very little, and was forgotten for some two centuries, and that he only was brought out of oblivion for a polemical purpose, to further the claims of Armagh to supremacy.

That there were Christians in Ireland before Patrick's time is clear from the records carefully collected by Haddan and Stubbs in their *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Vol. II, Part II ; but there is nothing to conflict with the accepted theory that the island was as a whole pagan.

That Patrick played a very large part in the Christianising large areas of the island is indicated by phrases used by the Four Masters and in other annals of recognised value. He is called in Latin *Episcopus Scotorum*, *Archipostulus Scotorum*, and, in Irish, Archbishop, First Primate, and Chief Apostle of Ireland. Haddan and Stubbs accept the strong external and internal evidence of the genuineness of the text of Patrick's own *Confession*, which they date "shortly before A.D. 493," and they assign the same conjectural date to the Letter to the Christian subjects of the tyrant Coroticus. They print, also, from a MS. of the seventh century, the remarkable *Canticum Scotticum*, the "Breast-plate of St. Patrick," in which Patrick describes the various powers and forces of which he says in the opening line of each stanza "I bind to myself to-day." Stanza five, with its seventeen short lines of Irish verse may be given as an example :

"I bind to myself to-day—The power of God to guide me, The might of God to uphold me, The wisdom of God to teach me, The eye of God to watch over me, The ear of God to hear me, The

word of God to give me speech, The hand of God to protect me, The way of God to prevent me, The shield of God to shelter me, The host of God to defend me against the snares of demons, Against the temptations of vices, Against the lusts of nature, Against every man who meditates injury to me, Whether far or near, Whether few or many."

They give also, as genuine, the striking Latin hymn in praise of St. Patrick written by his contemporary, St. Sechnall, whose Latin name was Secundinus. It consists of twenty-three stanzas of four long lines each, and at the end are given three pairs of antiphons, one or more of which appear in all the MSS. with one exception. The first stanza calls upon "All lovers of God to hear the holy merits of Patrick the Bishop, the man blessed in Christ, like unto the angels in good work, equal to the apostles in perfect life." The hymn is held to be genuine by the best Irish antiquarian scholars, and to have been written in St. Patrick's lifetime.

These four documents Haddan and Stubbs regard as the only authentic and contemporary documents of St. Patrick's period.

After Patrick's time there is evidence of much Christian coming and going between Ireland and Britain. Thus Brendan of Clonfert, the great traveller who spent seven years in search of the fortunate isles, visited both Caledonia and Britain on his travels. He built chapels on hills, and there is thus a Brandon Hill in Westmoreland, and also in Bristol, a very likely place for a traveller from the south-east or south of Ireland to visit; indeed, the name Bristol, whose early form is Brigstow, is said to be derived from Briga-

Brendan's sister. It is much more likely to be formed from Bridgestow. Their visit may be placed about 530. On the other hand, we find not long after Brendan's death, in 577, a British king, Constantine, acting as Carthach's first vice-abbat at Rahan in Ireland, probably driven out of his British domain by the success of the West Saxons at the battle of Deorham, near Bristol, in which battle the British Kings of Bath, Gloucester, and Cissanceaster, were killed. Some little time after this again, an Irish teacher, by name Maildubh, was forced by intestinal disturbances to leave Ireland in search of peace and quiet, and he found these in the British fortress where he founded the famous school of Malmesbury. Maildubh and his school were so important that when the West Saxons conquered the Britons of the north part of Selwood they spared Malmesbury, and their King Ina sent his young cousin Aldhelm to be instructed by the Irish Maildubh. Aldhelm succeeded him as master of the school, which was famous through the Anglo-Saxon times, and I have suggested elsewhere that the name of the place retains the Irishman's affectionate name for his favourite pupil, M'Allem, dear Aldhelm. An Irishman of later times would regard the *d* in "Aldhelm" as cancelled by the *h* which follows; whether that was certainly so in 650 I do not know. However that may be, Malmesbury is the best and most direct example of 'an unbroken continuity of succession from the British Church and the Irish Church to the English Church. Later still, when Wilfrith went to convert the still pagan South Saxons, he found a little colony of Irish monks quietly living and working among the pagans at Bosham, at the neck of Selsey. Thus, ecclesiastically, we have owed much

to Ireland, and some of it abides in a practical form. Secularly there has always been mistrust and dislike in Ireland for the dominant races of this island.

If anyone asks where and what is the old Irish Church now, the curt and true answer is that there is no such thing, so far as Roman Catholicism is concerned. Dr. Todd gives in effect the following reasoned answer in his "*Life of St. Patrick*" (1864). The Danish Bishops of Waterford and Dublin, in the eleventh century, entirely ignored the Irish Church and the successors of St. Patrick. They received consecration from the See of Canterbury, and from that time there were two Churches in Ireland, the native and the foreign. Later, the Anglo-Norman settlers in the twelfth century ignored the native bishops, on high authority. Pope Adrian IV, an Englishman, claimed possession of Ireland under the "*Donation of Constantine*." He gave it to Henry II, who was to get for him a penny from each household. He charged Henry to convert to the true Christian faith the ignorant and uncivilised tribes who inhabited it, and to exterminate the nurseries of vices. In 1367 the Irish Parliament at Kilkenny enacted the famous Statute of Kilkenny—a suitable place for Irishmen to eat up Irishmen and leave a very sorry tale. This Irish Act made it penal to present any Irishman to an ecclesiastical benefice, and penal for any religious house within the English pale to receive any Irishman to their profession. Three archbishops and five bishops were to excommunicate all who violated the Act. These eight archbishops and bishops were all of them appointed by the Pope in violation of all Irish rights of election. Their names tell the old Irish story of Irishman hating Irishman, or, indeed—for it goes

further back than that—Celt biting Celt : or, going back to St. Paul's time, and to their old home, Galatian biting Galatian. Among these anti-Irish prelates were an O'Carroll, an O'Grada, and an O'Cormac. And so it came that when the Anglo-Irish Church accepted the Reformation, the Old Irish Church had for some considerable time ceased to exist. Thereupon, as Dr. Todd says, to support the interests of Rome against such Irish Church as there was, namely, the Reformed Church, Roman missionary bishops and priests were sent into Ireland. And thus a third Church came into being in that distracted island, created at the Reformation in strict communion with Rome, and of late-Roman foreign foundation ; the Church which has now assumed the forms and dimensions of a national established religion.

THE EARLY CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CHURCHES OF BRITAIN AND IRELAND

PART II

Maildubh and the School of Malmesbury—Carthach and the School of Raham—Aldhelm's correspondence with Irish teachers—Irish students at the lectures of Archbishop Theodore—King Aldfrith a student in Ireland—Irish on his mother's side—His poem on his Irish travels—The great plague—Adamnan—Egbert and missions to the pagans—The schools frequented by English students—Irish clergy in England—English refugees in Ireland—St. Oswald—Mercia—Christianity restored among the East Saxons—Influence of early Ireland on our Coronation Service.

REFERENCE has been made to the Irish Maildubh, or Maildulf, a name variously spelled, and his foundation of a famous school of learning whose reputation under his West Saxon successor Aldhelm was so great that Lanfranc canonised Aldhelm and made his feast a double. This was the school of Malmesbury, M'Allem's burgh as I suggested some twenty years ago. Its reputation as a place of learning had as its last exponent the historian William of Malmesbury.

We shall see shortly how close a connection was kept up at Malmesbury with Ireland and Irish scholars after Maildubh passed away. But before proceeding to that part of the story, it is natural to make some effort to connect the Irish teacher, and his flight from Ireland, with places and events; and with some link, traditional or otherwise, which may help to set him in his place in the history of his native land, and to

account for his choice of the northern stronghold of the last of the kingdoms of the Britons in the land which we call England, as his place of refuge. The attempt at first seems hopeless, especially as the histories compiled by the Irish order of Bards are so very vague.

The younger Saint Carthach, who was a Munster man, being on a visit to a saint near Tullamore, in the ancient Meath, was advised by the saint to found a monastery near him. This was probably not before the year 588, when Carthach was quite young. The great schools of learning at Durrow, Clonmacnois, Clonfert, and Clonard, were all in the neighbourhood, and Durrow especially was near. Carthach was not deterred by this fact, although—perhaps because—he was a stranger, from another Irish land. He created, and for nearly forty years he ruled, the great monastic school of Rahan. Under his management it grew to such success that a very early life of the saint records the presence in his time of more than eight hundred monks, besides the boys and servants. The church of the monastery, which he built, was so important a fabric that its ruins are still to be seen.

About the years 632–634 the not unnatural jealousy of the native clerics came to a head, and they determined to expel Carthach and his monks. They stirred up the secular ruler of the territory, Blathmac, to drive the strangers away. Carthach was now an old man, old for that hard life, probably over seventy, and he refused to go unless force was used. Blathmac himself technically carried out that condition, took him by the hand, and led him out of his well-loved home. It was a marked event, appearing not only in the *Annals of Ulster* but also in the *Chronicles of the*

Scots. Rahan being near the southern border of Meath, Carthach soon found himself clear of that inhospitable land and once more in his native Munster. He and his monks moved southwards, by stages which can be clearly traced, till at last they reached the dominion of the Desii at Waterford, where, as we have seen, the men of this clan who did not go to South Wales had settled themselves. They began to build, and they called their new home by comparison the Lios-beg, the small habitation ; but a prophetic virgin bade them call it Lios-mor, the great habitation, and Lismore it became, one of the most famous and most frequented of the schools of learning and of saintly lives which gave to Ireland the name and title of *Insula sanctorum et doctorum*.

Now it so happens that all of the phrases employed to describe the causes of Maildubh's departure from Ireland suit the suggestion which I venture to make, that Maildubh was one of Carthach's learned monks and teachers, and was so much upset by the Irish jealousies that he determined to seek a quiet home outside his native Ireland. Carthach's first vice-abbat was Constantine, a British refugee king, and thus there was some knowledge of Britain among the older monks. Constantine may have been a king of the south-west Britons, whose northern fortress was at the place afterwards called Malmesbury ; or he may have been a lesser king among the remainder of the Romano-Britons, Constantine being a royal name among the Britons. Maildubh had only to drop down the Blackwater from Lismore to Youghal. From Youghal or from Waterford he would cross to the mouth of the Avon. From Avonmouth a Roman road led to Bath, whence the Roman Fosseway led through the recesses

of Selwood to Malmesbury. The fact that the first bishop of the West Saxons was succeeded in 650 by a prelate from Ireland may have some connection with these events.

However all that may have been, Maildubh's West Saxon successor Aldhelm affords our clearest evidence of the constant coming and going of scholars between England and Ireland in the later part of the seventh century. We have letters which he received from Irishmen and letters which he wrote to them. Thus "Cellanus, born in the island of Hibernia, dwelling in an extreme corner of the limits of the Franks," writes thus to him:—"Though we are not worthy to hear thee present among us, we read thy finely constructed writings, painted with the delights of divers flowers. If you would refresh the sad heart of a pilgrim in a foreign land, send me a few of the discourses of those most fair lips of thine, the rills derived from whose most pure fountain may refresh the minds of many in the place where the lord Fursey rests in holy and whole body," that is, Peronne. Aldhelm replies:—"I wonder that from the renowned and flower-bearing fields of the Franks, the activity of your charming fraternity accosts me, a humble man of no repute—*tantillum homunculum*."

Another letter to Aldhelm is very quaint. It is headed as "The letter of a certain anonymous Scot to Aldhelm, abbat of Malmesbury.

"To the lord Aldhelm, most wise, to Christ most dear, a Scot of name unknown sends greeting in the Eternal God.

"Knowing how you excel in intellect, in Roman eloquence, and in the varied flowers of letters after the manner of the Greeks, I would rather learn from

thy mouth, the purest fount of knowledge, than drink from any other spring, the turbulent Master especially." We have many examples of honorific titles assigned to teachers—doctor seraphic, doctor irrefragable, and so on; the text may perhaps suggest that certain teachers were marked by labels of an opposite character. "Know this to begin with, that I confidently beseech thee to take me and teach me, because the brightness, it is said, of wisdom shines in thee beyond many lecturers; and thou understandest the minds of foreigners who desire to acquire knowledge: for thou hast been to Rome, and besides thou wast thyself taught by a certain holy man of our race. Let this serve as a summary of reasons; if thou wilt charitably listen, thou wilt see as much from a few words as from a large amount of sermonising, *per plurimas sermocinationes*. This also in sincerity I submit to thee. Thou hast a certain book, which is not more than an occupation for two weeks; I wish to read it. This, however, I bespeak for a short time; not because I do not need it longer, but for fear lest my request should create an unfavourable impression in thy mind. A servant, also, and horses, I suppose I shall get. This next harvest I shall hope to receive from thee a favourable reply. May Divine Grace deign to keep thee, so long as thou prayest for me."

It is a curiously characteristic letter from one of the Irish race. The writer must have had great confidence in the skill of the Post Office of his time. He expected that a book which he did not name, beyond saying that it was a fortnight's business, would reach him safely with the sole address, *To a Scot of name unknown*. The inconsequent and happy-go-lucky finish, "I suppose I shall get a servant and horses," is another character-

istic touch ; as also is the prayer at the end for Aldhelm on an equitable basis of mutual help.

There is a letter of some length from Aldhelm to a Saxon, Eahfrid by name, who had lately returned from a six-years' course of study in Ireland. This letter gives us a general idea of the frequency of visits of Englishmen to Irish seats of learning, and it gives us a quite remarkable account of the behaviour of Irish students in England. It is tryingly, totally, terribly, turgid. Alliterative and abusive angriness is apt to one speaking of it, as its initial sentence may serve to show :—
 “ Primitus pantorum procerum praetorumque pio potissimum paternoque praesertim privilegio panegyricum poemataque passim prosatori sub polo promulgantes.” Some extracts may be given from this letter.

“ We have heard from newsmongers that you have arrived safe at the ambrosial shores of British territory, having left the wintry climes and storms of the island of Hibernia ; where for a triple two-years' period you have drawn nourishment from the udder of wisdom.

“ Our ears have been shaken by assertions, beyond the bounds of mere rumour, of those who dwell on Scotie soil, with whom you yourself have abode, assertions like peals of thunder issuing from crashing clouds ; and through many and wide stadia of the land, the opinion spreads over districts and provinces and grows in force. The coming and going of those who pass by the ships-track the whirlpools of the sea, thence and hence, thither and hither, is so frequent, that it resembles some brotherhood of bees, busily storing the nectar in the comb.

“ I, miserable little man, revolved these things as I

wrote them down ; and I was tortured by an anxious question. Why, say I, should Ireland, whither students, ship-borne, flock together in summer, why should Ireland be exalted by some ineffable privilege ? As though here, on the fertile turf of Britain, teachers Greek and Roman could not be found, who, solving the severe problems of the celestial library, are able to unlock them to enquiring smatterers. The fields of Ireland are rich in learners, and green with the pastoral numerosity of students, as the pivots of the pole quiver with the vibrations of the glittering constellations. And yet Britain, placed, if you like to say so, at almost the extreme margin of the western clime of the orb, possesses as it were the flame-bearing sun and the lucid moon ; that is to say, Theodore the archbishop, grown old from the earliest childhood of rudiments in the flower of philosophic art, and Adrian, his companion in the brotherhood of learning, ineffably endowed with pure urbanity."

Aldhelm then proceeds to give an account of Theodore's lectures, which shews that Irish students came over in numbers to hear him, and behaved themselves in a non-docile manner. He was " densely surrounded by a crowd of Irish disciples, who grievously badgered him as the truculent boar is hemmed in by a snarling pack of Molossian hounds. He tore them with the tusk of grammar, and pierced them with the deep and sharp syllogisms of chronography, till they cast away their weapons and hurriedly fled to the recesses of their dens." Such was the fate of those who badgered the Archbishop of Canterbury in Aldhelm's time. History is said to repeat itself.¹

Aldhelm's connection with Irish students and Irish

¹ This address was given during the primacy of Dr. Temple.

interests was no doubt emphasised, as it is evidenced, by his accurate knowledge of the life and experiences of Aldfrith, King of Northumbria, who more than any other Englishman, not excepting even the Northumbrian Ecgbert, to whom we shall next turn, formed a link between the students of England and of Ireland. It was to this king, under the name Acircius, that Aldhelm addressed his very lengthy treatise on metres, etc.

Aldhelm's relations with Aldfrith had been very close. Aldhelm calls him "my most reverend son," "most excellent and best-loved son"; "mindful," he says, "of our former brotherhood, the more closely tied because bound by the sacred and septiform number of the mysteries." He reminds the king that, more than twenty years before, they had bound themselves together by pledges which could not be broken, and were united by ties which could not be loosed, at the time of Aldfrith's confirmation by the bishop, when he received the septiform abundance of spiritual charismata under the hand of the venerable pontiff. Aldhelm had then adopted the name of father, and Aldfrith a name which Aldhelm explains in a very long paragraph of very long words, the meaning of which appears to be that the name indicated the bursting forth of fruitful vine-buds on a bush, with prophetic shadowings forth which it takes fifteen close octavo lines to describe. This is no doubt the word Acircius, by which, and not by his name Aldfrith, Aldhelm addresses the king. Unfortunately Aldhelm does not say who the bishop was. If the confirmation was in Wessex, the Scotie student Agilbert is the only bishop who suits the date, probably 650-655; if in the north, the Scotie Aidan or Finan.

There was no bishop in Mercia so early as that. Honorius was Archbishop.

It brings Ireland and England curiously near together, to learn that Aldfrith was first cousin, three times removed, of Columba. Oswy had married in the time of his exile, or, according to the saying at the time, had not married, an Irish princess. His eldest brother, Eanfrith, in the same time of exile, had married a Pictish princess, and his son by her succeeded to the kingdom of the Picts. Oswy's Irish princess, wife or not wife, was Fina, daughter of Cennfaeladh, son of Ailill, Columba's first cousin; or, as another account has it, granddaughter of King Baedan, Ailill's brother. In either case, Fina was great-granddaughter of King Muircertach, Columba's uncle. Bede gives as the reason for Aldfrith's going to Ireland, that he suffered voluntary exile by reason of his love for learning, that he might devote himself to the study of literature. William of Malmesbury says of Aldfrith that in Ireland he was safe from the persecution of his brother, meaning Ecgrith, whom he eventually succeeded. The Irish writers give two reasons, the first being that his mother was an Irishwoman, an excellent reason in itself; the second, that a slug or snail had got into his ear and caused a dangerous swelling, and he went not only to be perfected in learning, but also that by the prayers of the saints of Ireland he might be freed from the annoyance and from the disease it had brought on.

The Irish Annals are persistent in claiming Aldfrith as an Irishman on his mother's side. Tighernach records in 704 the death of "Alfrith mac Ossu, Fland Fina the Irish call him." The Annals of Innisfallen, "Flann Fine, son of Ossa, King of the Saxons." A

fragment of Irish Annals printed by Mr. Skene in his "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots" (p. 402), gives under the year 704 "death of Flann Fiona, son of Ossa, King of Saxons, the famous wise man, pupil of Adamnan," and gives under the same year the death of Adamnan his teacher.

An old Irish poem ascribed to Aldfrith states that he went from school to school throughout Ireland, and gives very flattering accounts of what he saw. Armagh is mentioned among other places, and at that great school no doubt he studied. At Lismore, too, we may be sure that he spent some time, though the definite assertions that he did so which we find in books are not warranted by the record. The poem is highly elusive, as is the wont of early Irish poems and writings, and would seem purposely to avoid definiteness and everything which might be called historical. Among the more definite statements we read that in Armagh the writer found splendid meekness, prudence, and wisdom, blended. In Munster he found kings and queens and poets; in Connaught, riches, hospitality, vigour, and fame; in Ulster, from glen to glen, hardy warriors, resolute men. The poem is written in twenty-four ranns, the twenty-third rann being literally as follows:—

It is natural in fair Innis-fail
 In Erin, without contention,
 Many women, no silly boast,
 Many laics, many clerics.
 Flann Fina, son of Osa,
 Arch-doctor in Erin's learning,
 On the banks of the river Ren composed,
 Received his due, as was natural.

Bishop John Healy, in his very interesting *Insula sanctorum et doctorum*, prints two stanzas from a

translation by Clarence Mangan, of which the Bishop remarks that it admirably preserves the spirit of the original :—

I found in Innisfail the fair,
In Ireland, while in exile there,
Women of worth, both grave and gay men,
Many clerics and many lay men.

I travelled its fruitful provinces round,
And in every one of the five I found,
Alike in Church and in palace hall,
Abundant apparel and food for all.

This is not an occasion for saying anything about Aldfrith beyond his connection with Ireland as a student ; otherwise, there is much to be said of him that is very creditable and very interesting.

We must now turn to the influence of Ireland upon the missionary instincts of the Northumbrian Angles.

During the middle age of Aldhelm, England and Ireland were frequently devastated by a terrible plague. The Irish and Welsh Annals have repeated notices of it, and Bede gives a striking account of its desolating effects. Bede had not any distinctive name for it, but in the Irish Annals it is called the yellow plague (*galar buidhe*), and so in the Cambrian Annals (*vad valen*). Giraldus, with his Cambrian knowledge speaks of it as *flava pestis*, "the yellow plague, which physicians call the icterician¹ disease." The diagnosis in the life of an early Irish saint is quaint—"it first turns men yellow, and then kills them." The most severe of the visitations was in 664. Bede says of it that it went northwards from south Britain, seized upon the province of the Northumbrians, and there spread its cruel ravages far and wide, destroying a

Yellow jaundice.

great multitude of men. He adds that it was equally fatal in Ireland. Adamnan speaks of two visitations which devastated the greater part of the world then known, Italy, Cisalpine Gaul, Spain ; and all Britain with only two exceptions, namely the Pictish half of the north of Scotland and the Scottish (Irish) half, in both of which the efficacy of St. Columba's influence with heaven protected the land. He regards the two worst attacks as those of 685 and 687, when Northumbria was specially afflicted ; and adds that not Iona and its dependent islands only were protected from those attacks, but he himself and his companions from Iona, who were on each occasion visiting their friend, Adamnan's cousin King Aldfrith in Northumbria. They went about freely in the plague-stricken regions, and not one of them had even a passing ailment. The visitation of 687 and the previous year has a special interest for us of the English race, for we learn from Bede's history of the Abbats of Wearmouth that Easterwine and nearly all the monks died of that plague, and it is probable that Bede himself was the one boy who was among the survivors. It was the earlier visitation of 664 which opened up such great developments in the Church of England, by carrying off in Kent on one day, July 14, both Archbishop Deusdedit and King Earconbert. The story goes that the Irish students took the plague to Ireland with them when they went home for the long vacation.

The most continuous link between English and Irish scholars in Aldhelm's time is introduced to us by this pestilence of 664, in the person of Ecgbert, a Northumbrian of noble family. Bede tells us that when the plague spread to Ireland and afflicted that country with its ravages, there were there many English of

the noble and the middle classes. They were accustomed to leave their native island, in the days of Finan and Colman, and reside in Ireland for the sake of study and to live a life of greater self-control. Some of them settled down in monasteries; others went about from one master's cell to another for special study. The Scots, that is the Irish, received them all in the most liberal manner, giving them their daily rations of food without charge, and providing for them gratuitously both books and instruction.

Ecgbert had recently gone over to Ireland as a student, with Ethelhun, the brother of another Anglo-Irish student, Ethelwin, who was afterwards (A.D. 680) bishop of the province of Lindsey. They were in the monastery of Rathmelsigi, which has been said to be Mellifont, near Drogheda, but unfortunately Mellifont was founded in the twelfth century. The Irish writers say that the monastery at which Ecgbert studied was in Connaught, and a reference has been found to a monastery in that kingdom called Rathmaoilsidhe, probably at the place called Rathmaoil, on the banks of the Moy. Bishop Healy believes that the crowds of Northumbrian students sailed to the estuary of the Moy and thence went south by land. It does not seem clear why they should go round the north of Ireland and land on its western part. It is true that Colman took that route when he left Northumbria after the conference at Whitby and founded "Mayo of the English," after failing to establish a monastery on the island called Inis Bofin, off the western coast; but he started from Iona on his journey.

The whole of the inmates of the monastery had died of the plague, except Ecgbert and Ethelhun, and those two were stricken with the fatal disease. The story

was told to Bede by a priest, venerable and of great veracity, who heard it from the lips of Ecgbert himself. Ecgbert vowed that if he recovered he would never go back to Britain ; he would recite the whole Psalter every day besides all the wonted services and psalms ; and he would every week fast one whole day and night. Ethelhun died the next day. Ecgbert recovered, and lived, it is said by Bede, to be ninety, dying in 729. He added to his vow that during each Lent he would have only one meal a day, and that of bread and skim-milk limited in quantity. Large numbers of English youths put themselves under his instruction. It was from him that Willibrord and others caught the missionary ardour which consumed the master ; visions and storms taught Ecgbert that he was not himself to go to the mission field ; he sent a succession of others in his stead, and these Northumbrian students and missionaries paved the way for the West Saxon Boniface of Crediton and his nephews and niece Wunnibald, Willibald, and Walpurga. During Bede's mature age, Ecgbert lived for twelve years in Iona, dying there. Ceadda (St. Chad) was one of Ecgbert's early companions in Ireland.

Armagh was so famous as a school for English students, that one of the three divisions of the city was called Trian Saxon. The other great school of the north was Bangor. Clonmacnois was the school at which the Irish unfoundedly claim that the famous Northumbrian Alcuin studied. The other great school of Connaught was Clonfert.

Next in importance to Clonmacnois, Lismore in Munster was a great place of study for Englishmen. Mention has already been made of this famous school. Clonard was the great school of Meath, and Glen-

dalough of Leinster. Other schools equally or almost equally famous can be named.

We have seen that a converse stream of Irish students crossed the seas to study under Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, and before that time there had been a great inflow of the Scotie people into Northumbria. Agilbert passed from his studies in Ireland to act as bishop in Wessex, and curiously enough was the means of overthrowing the Scotie practices in Northumbria by appointing Wilfrith as his spokesman at Whitby. This points to his having been a student in the south of Ireland. Even so late as Dunstan's time, Glastonbury was served by Irish clergy, as the monk Osbern tells, and it was from them that he learned all he knew, including the art of working in metal. Osbern says that with other races, love of travel has grown into a custom ; with the Irish, the custom of peregrination has grown into nature.

We have an interesting evidence of the restlessness of the Irish of those early times, in the cause which frustrated the attempt of Colman to establish his blended monastery on Inis Bofin, when he left Lindisfarne and his Northumbrian bishopric on the decision at the Synod of Whitby, and took with him all his Scotie monks, and many of his Anglian monks. Bede tells us that Colman settled on the Isle of the White Heifer and placed there the monks whom he had brought, of both nations, English and Irish. But the monks did not agree among themselves. In the summer season, when the fruits of the earth had to be gathered, the Irish monks left their monastery and wandered about to places which they knew. When winter came on they returned to the monastery and expected to be fed on the supplies which the English

monks had stored. The only remedy Colman could discover was to carry off his English monks to a place, now Mayo, which he bought on the mainland, from the chief to whom it belonged. There he built for them a monastery, with the help of the chief and all the neighbours. The Irish monks he left to their own devices on the island of the White Heifer. Those of us who are octogenarians can well remember the crowds of Irish labourers who used in the days of our boyhood to come over with sickles and reap the corn-fields of the English farmers.

In Columba's time a converse visit to Britain was not regarded as a very pleasurable diversion. The Saint learned in a vision that with one Lugaid a man was coming to the Iouan island (miscalled for now many centuries Iona by a misreading of the adjectival form *Ioua insula*) who had committed the vilest of sins. Some months after, the Saint spoke to Diormit, "Rise quickly, Lugaid is coming; go bid him put that wretch out on the Malean island (Mull), that he tread not the soil of this island." Diormit returned, and reported the agonised words of the unhappy man. Columba went down to the port and inflicted on him the severest penalty, "Go, and for twelve years do penance with weeping and tears among the Britons." The Saint told his companions privately that the man was a son of perdition, and would not stay his twelve years; he would soon return to Scotia (Ireland) and would perish. And so it came to pass.

The Irish had indeed reason to dislike the idea of residing among the Britons if they were acquainted with the story of St. Indract. He with seven companions came to Glastonbury on their return from Rome to Ireland in the time of the Britons. Their

long walking-sticks, with a crook at the top, the origin of the pastoral staff, were shod with brass to protect them from wearing away with constant use. The people near Glastonbury thought the sticks were shod with gold, and they killed the unfortunate owners to secure this booty.

We must now turn to that part of the connection between the Christian Church in Ireland and the Christian Church in England which is by far its most important part so far as early England was concerned.

When the missionary work of Paulinus among the Northumbrian Angles was uprooted on the death of Edwin their first Christian king, Osric succeeded to the South Northumbrian kingdom of Deira, and Eanfrid to the North Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia. Osric had been baptised by Paulinus, Eanfrid by the monks of Iona, who were working among the Picts of Caledonia with whom Eanfrid had taken refuge. Both of these kings abjured Christianity and relapsed into paganism. The British King Cadwalla slew them both in their first year, and took their kingdoms. Eanfrid's brother Oswald, who had been trained by the monks of Iona, collected an army, overthrew the forces of Cadwalla, and became King of Northumbria. He naturally determined to restore Christianity, and applied to Iona for a bishop and a band of missionaries. For thirty years—the most critical years in the history of English Christianity—Aidan, Finan, and Colman presided over the Church of the North of England. The whole work was in the hands of the Irish Church.

The West Saxons, from whose royal family the kings of all England were to come, had been converted to some small extent by a missionary bishop from North

Italy, Birinus. Oswald of Northumbria was at the Court of the King of Wessex, seeking his daughter in marriage, when the message of Christianity came to the king. The king listened and was baptised, and Oswald stood as sponsor. Thus the influence of Iona was a turning-point in the Christianity of Wessex. Further than that, Birinus was succeeded in 650 by a bishop from Ireland, Agilbert, a Gaul, who had gone to Ireland for the purpose of studying the Scriptures ; and thus the whole of the vast kingdom of Wessex was directly under the influence of the Irish Church.

The great central kingdom of Mercia was made famous in early times by the vigour and success of its pagan King Penda, who killed as many Christian kings and people as he could lay hands on. His son Peada sought in marriage a daughter of King Oswy of Northumbria, in the time of the Irish Bishop Finan who had succeeded Aidan. He visited the Court of Oswy with a large retinue, and in the course of time he and the whole of his followers were baptised by Finan. He returned to his kingdom a Christian, with a Christian wife, and took with him a party of missionary priests trained in Iona ; and thus the midland parts of England were directly under the influence of the Irish Church.

We are, or we ought to be, very familiar with the story of the beginning and the speedy end of the work of the Italian mission in London, and of the long apostasy of the East Saxons lasting through a period of nearly fifty years. When at last the paganism of the kingdom and its capital was really grappled with, the work was done by the Irish school. King Sigebert, like King Peada of Mercia, went to visit King Oswy of Northumbria, who, by argument, induced him to

give up his idols. Sigebert then argued with his retinue and brought them over to his view. The whole party was then baptised by Bishop Finan, at the same royal residence at which Peada and his retinue had been baptised.

Oswy's argument no doubt represents the Irish argument which had been found successful in Caledonia. Its negative side was not very deep ; the main point being that you cannot make a god out of a piece of wood, the remains of which are burned. The positive contention was deeper and higher. "God is rather to be understood as of incomprehensible majesty, invisible to human eyes, almighty, eternal, the creator of heaven and earth and man. He governs the world and will judge it in righteousness. His everlasting seat is in heaven, not in vile and fading matter."

A really able argument by Daniel of Winchester (705-745) sent by him to Boniface at the request of that great Anglo-Saxon missionary may be found in my "*Boniface of Crediton and his Companions*," pages 208-211. His advice begins by stating the main principle, "Do not begin by denying the genealogies of their gods. Take them at their word." The development of the argument on those lines is shrewd and deeply interesting.

The newly converted king and retinue returned to the East Saxon land, and Cedd, a brother of Chad, trained by the Irish Church, became the chief missionary and eventually the bishop of the East Saxons. For special work in the London parts, where the most inveterate pagans were, Jaruman was brought from Mercia for a time, and he, too, was trained by the Irish Church. We have thus four men, two brothers—King

Oswald and King Oswy of Northumbria—both trained by the Irish Church—and two Irish bishops of Northumbria, whose work it was to establish Christianity among the English in Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, and the East Saxon kingdom with London as its capital. Those kingdoms covered the whole of the present kingdom of England, except four counties. That is what the Irish did for English Christianity.

The Irish influence which is most prominent in the England of to-day is found in our Form for the Crowning of the Kings. How much our Form owes to Columba and through him to the Irish-trained St. Oswald our Northumbrian king and martyr, I have worked out elsewhere. It may be found in my “Anglo-Saxon Coronation Forms,” published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1902.

THE SEE OF CREDITON, 9 JUNE, 1909

THE 1000TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEE OF CREDITON AND OF THE CONSECRATION OF SEVEN BISHOPS ON ONE DAY, IN 909

Eadulf the first Bishop of Crediton and six other Bishops—The divisions of the Wessex dioceses—William of Malmesbury's account—Intervention of Pope Formosus—Examination of the statement—Plegmund's action—Explanation found in the Anglo-Saxon lists of Bishops—Table shewing successive sub-divisions of the See of the West Saxons—The story of Pope Formosus—Dunstan's letter to King Ethelred—Plegmund's doubtful position—Letter from Formosus to the Bishops of England—Boniface of Crediton and his nephews and niece—The Bishops in Cornwall—Profession of Obedience to Canterbury by Bishop Kenstec—Transference of the See of Crediton to Exeter.

WE meet here to-day to mark the 1000th anniversary of the beginning of the See of Exeter, the Bishop's seat being set first at Crediton in the year 909. This is also the 1200th anniversary of the death of Aldhelm of Malmesbury, the most learned man of his time, who became the first Bishop of Sherborne, the mother-See of Exeter, at the first sub-division of the Bishopric of the West Saxons. The second and third sub-divisions of that Bishopric are to occupy our thoughts to-day. They have for this diocese two special interests. They founded the diocese, and they made your present Bishop [Dr. Archibald Robertson], the eighty-second in spiritual descent from Aldhelm who died 1200 years ago on the 25th of last month, and eighty-seventh from Birinus, who in concert with King Oswald of North-

umbria converted to Christianity the King of the West Saxons, and died in 650.

There does not appear to be any valid reason for doubting the record that in the year 909 Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated on one and the same day at Canterbury no less than seven bishops. Two of these we may name in passing, and then we need only mention them once again; they were Beornege, the twelfth Bishop of Selsey, now Chichester, and Ceolwulf, the eleventh Bishop of the Mercian Dorchester, near Oxford. The other five—with whom alone we are now concerned—we cannot so lightly pass over. They were all of them Wessex bishops: Frithestan the twenty-second Bishop of Winchester, Ethelward the eleventh Bishop of Sherborne, Eadulf the first Bishop of Crediton, Athelm the first Bishop of Wells, and Athelstan the first Bishop of Ramsbury. How did this remarkable combination come about?

Dr. Stubbs stated in his "*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*" of 1858, at page 13, that the division of the Wessex dioceses, and the consecration of the seven Bishops by Plegmund, are a crux in chronology. That the diocese was divided in 909 is certain, he says, from charters, and that the division originated the dioceses of Wells, Ramsbury (*Corvinensis*), and Crediton, is agreeable with probability and tradition. There is nothing unlikely, he adds, in the consecration of seven Bishops together, nor in the circumstance that tradition should record such an event; the difficulties have arisen from attempts of late writers—he probably refers to William of Malmesbury and writers of about that period—to fill in the outline of the tradition.

Dr. Stubbs adds some able suggestions. In his much larger edition of the "*Registrum*" (1897) he writes at

greater length on the subject, at pages 23 and 24, concluding that the identification of the seven bishops must remain conjectural: adding that the names Frithstan of Winchester, Ethelstan of Ramsbury, Werstan of Sherborne, Athelm of Wells, Eadulf of Crediton, Beornege of Selsey, and Coenulf of Dorchester, seem to rest on Leofric's *Missal*, f. 1; *Reg. Cant.*; Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 199, 200; W. Malmesb, *G. R.* i. 141.

First, let us go further back than 909 by 200 years and more.

The great Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, who arrived at Canterbury on May 27th, 669, being then sixty-seven years old, made the sub-division of dioceses a main feature of his policy. Dioceses were called then *parochiae*, our word "parishes," whence Theodore has been erroneously credited with the creation of the parochial or parish system. He had so large an experience of trouble as the result of sub-dividing the vast diocese of the North in the lifetime of its bishop, that he did not sub-divide the See of the West Saxons. Its fifth bishop, Hædde, was still living when Theodore died, in 690, at the age of eighty-eight. But Theodore had made arrangements for the sub-division to take place at the next vacancy, and this occurred in 705 when Hædde died. Daniel was made Bishop of the eastern part of the great area, with his seat at Winchester. Aldhelm was taken from his learned leisure at Malmesbury and made Bishop of the western part, by very far the larger part, with his seat at Sherborne, in Dorset, and as his diocese Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, to the west, and some say Berks to the east as well. It was this Aldhelm who while Abbat of Malmesbury wrote the famous letter to the Britons in the south-western land,

where they still held Cornwall and Devon as an independent kingdom. He addressed it "To the most glorious lord, wielding the sceptre of the western kingdom, whom I, as the discernor of the heart is my witness, embrace in fraternal charity, to King Geruntius [Geraint], and also to all the priests of God dwelling throughout the Domnonian realm." There were six points in the letter; one was that their tonsure was the tonsure not of St. Peter but of Simon Magus; another, that they kept Easter on an erroneous calculation, and carried to an extreme pitch their scorn for all who differed from their calculation.

Returning now to the year 909, let us take the precise statement made by the historian William of Malmesbury, writing some 220 years later, say in the year 1130. His statement has this special interest for Crediton, that it was taken from an entry in the Missal given to Exeter by Bishop Leofric, the last of the Bishops of Crediton, the first of the Bishops of Exeter. This is what William says :—

In the year 904, Pope Formosus sent letters into England, denouncing excommunication and malediction to King Edward and his subjects, instead of the benediction which St. Gregory had given to the English nation from the seat of St. Peter, because for seven whole years the entire district of the West Saxons had been destitute of bishops. On hearing this, King Edward assembled a Council of the Senators of the English, over which presided Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, interpreting carefully the words of the apostolic message. Then the King and the bishops elected and appointed one bishop to every province of the West Saxons, and

in place of two bishops they appointed five. The Council being dissolved, the Archbishop went to Rome with splendid presents, appeased the Pope with much humility, and related the King's ordinance, which gave the Pope great satisfaction. Returning home, he ordained in one day, in the City of Canterbury, seven bishops to seven churches.

William then gives the names of the bishops and of their Sees, making a mistake which has caused some confusion. He assigns Athelstan, of Ramsbury, to Cornwall. But he was puzzled about it ; for in another place he says that Athelstan had Cornwall as his diocese, whose successors he cannot find named anywhere. He adds that not long after, in the reign of the same King, that is, before 924, Wilts got a Bishop of its own, named Ethelstan, with his See at Ramsbury. The simple fact is that Ramsbury is Ravensbury, the Ravens' town, and its Latin name is Corvinensis, which William interpreted to mean Cornwall. Then, finding Ramsbury mentioned under the name Ramesberia in one of his lists, he had to invent its foundation later, but still in Edward's reign. We may surmise that in those early days, when reference to other sources was so difficult, a good deal of history was made in that way. His invention made six Sees instead of five. We must allow, however, that Ramsbury was a puzzling See. It appears as Corvinensis, Ramsbury, Wilton, and Sunning. William of Malmesbury's accounts of these transactions are found in the *Gesta Regum*, ii., 5, and the *Gesta Pontificum*, ii., 80. The account in the *Gesta Pontificum* is not a copy of the original document, it merely states the contents in a summary manner. The account in the

Gesta Regum William says distinctly, is in the very words in which he found it. This being so, it may be well to give the actual document, which I am enabled to do by the kindness of Canon Pryke of Exeter, and the Reverend R. W. B. Langhorne, priest vicar and assistant librarian.¹ The *Iewissi* were the *Gewissi*, the initial G of the Anglo-Saxon being in such cases our Y, as in A.S. *Gear*, our *Year*, *Gae* our *Yea*.

The Leofric Missal—Fol. i.

Anno illo quo transacti sunt a natiuitate domini nostri ihesu christi (anni) DCCCCV. Misit formosus, pontifex apostolicus romane ecclesie, in terram anglorum ad regem eduardum filium alfridi, motus cum magna iracundia ac deuotione, et mandauit ei cum suis omnibus maledictionem contra benedictionem quam beatus papa gregorius per sanctum uirum augustinum genti anglorum ante misit, nisi cum episcopia instituisset destitutas parrochias episcoporum secundum antequam traditionem quae tradita est genti anglorum a sede sancti petri; nam per. VII. annos plene destituta est regio ieuuissorum (uel uuest saxonum) ab omni episcopo. Quo facto congregauit eduardus rex synodum senatorum gentis anglorum. In quo presidebat plegmundus archiepiscopus, regi recitans et disputans districta uerba apostolice legationis, quam misit beatus papa formosus. Tunc sibi rex cum suis, et plegmundus archiepiscopus salubre consilium inuenerunt, assumptes sibi dominicam sententiam, "messis quidem multa est operarii uere pauci," Singulis (que) tribubus ieuuissorum (uel uuest saxonum) singulos

¹ The errors in the original Latin are not corrected in any case.

constituerunt episcopos, et singulis episcopia constituerunt. Et quod dudum duo habuerunt in quinque diuiserunt. Acto illo consilio cum honorificis muneribus plegmundus archiepiscopus romam rediit, apostolicum formosum cum magna humilitate placauit, regis decreta et seniorum regionis enuntiauit, quod et apostolico maxime placuit. Rediens ad patriam (in urbe) dorobernia. VII. episcopos. VII. ecclesiis in uno die ordinauit; Frythestanum ad ecclesiam uuentaniensem; Aethelstanum ad ecclesiam coruinensem; Waerstanum ad ecclesiam sciraburnensem; Aethelhelmum ad ecclesiam fontaniensem; Eaduulfum ad ecclesiam cridionensem. Insuper addiderunt illi tres uillas in cornubia quorum nomina polttun, caelling, landuithan, ut inde singulis annis uisitaret gentem cornubiensem ad exprimendos eorum errores; Nam antea in quantum potuerant ueritate resistebant, et non decretis apostolicis oboediebant; Sed et aliis prouinciis constituit duos, australibus saxonibus uirum idoneum beorneh ordinauit, et mercionibus coenuulfum ad ciuitatem quae diciter dorceceaster; hoc hautem totum Sic papa apostolicus in synodis ecclesiae sancti petri conclusit, ut dampnaretur in perpetuum qui hoc salubre mutaret consilium.

It should be observed that there is a note of accuracy in the phrase Plegmundus archiepiscopus Romam *rediit*, which is lost in the statement that Plegmund *went to Rome*.

Now in the year 904, when William tells us that Pope Formosus wrote his threatening letter to King Edward, that Pope had been dead eight years. Moreover, he died five years before Edward became King.

Further, the West Saxon bishoprics had not been vacant for seven years, or anything approaching that ; though, curiously enough, William tells us that by reason of hostile violence the See of Sherborne had been vacant for seven years. This is one among several reasons for not treating the whole story as ridiculous nonsense, either during the papacy of Formosus, or at the date 904, or in 908, or in 909. Still, it naturally throws doubt on the whole story. The remarkable assertion of consecrations to five Wessex Sees in one day, three of them never heard of before, in itself needs a good deal of confirmation.

We have no inconsiderable number of lists of English bishops written in Anglo-Saxon times, and others copied early from Anglo-Saxon lists which have perished. Instead of clearing up the difficulty, these lists for the most part emphasise it. They make the third division, into three parts, come clearly later than the second into two, so that the five bishops could not be consecrated at one time. They give different accounts of the division into three, contradictory accounts, in more than one case an impossible account. One manuscript, by a curious misreading of a word, puts the division into three after the year 942. Bishop Stubbs rightly described the problem thus created as a *crux* in chronology. On its solution depends the validity of our commemoration to-day.

The true solution I believe to be found in a beautiful volume of Anglo-Saxon times, which we gather from internal evidence to have been written between 924 and 942, its list of Archbishops of Canterbury in the original hand ending with Wulfhelm, who held the Archbishopric during that period. Other entries make it probable that it was written within twenty-five

years of our date 909. This was evidently a favourite volume with Archbishop Parker, the marks of his red pencil, and his writing and dates, being found frequently in the lists of Anglo-Saxon Bishops and Archbishops which it contains. We may surmise that the difficulty of the problem before us was not unknown to him; for on the critical page, which is written in double columns and is clear as it stands, he has drawn two lines to link together and place in consecutive order parts of the left-hand and right-hand columns. The alterations of order indicated by his lines throw the chronology into confusion, the original order being, as we can now see, correct. This volume is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Its number in the collection of manuscripts is 183. This priceless collection, containing some of the very best of our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, was formed by Matthew Parker, Master of the College 1544 to 1553, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Reginald Pole, 1559 to 1576.

This manuscript states that after Hædde, the fifth Bishop of the West Saxons, that diocese was divided into two parts, the one of Winchester, the other of Sherborne. The date of this division we know to have been 705. It then follows the fortunes of the Winchester portion, the eastern and smaller part, from Daniel the sixth Bishop, and states that another subdivision took place after Denewulf, the twenty-first Bishop, who died in 908. Winchester was then, it tells us, divided into two parts, of which Frithestan took one and Athelstan the other. These were two of the five Wessex bishops said to have been consecrated by Plegmund at one time. Their Sees were Winchester and Ramsbury. We are so far, then, on sure ground to-day.

The Saxon scribe then reverts to the original division into Winchester and Sherborne, and takes up the succession of Bishops of Sherborne from Aldhelm, the first Bishop, to Athelweard, the twelfth. Here, as in the former case, he carries his list beyond the date of change, and then states the change that was made. According to our modern method, we should have stopped at Asser, the eleventh Bishop of Sherborne, on whose death the change was made. The See of Sherborne, the scribe states, was then divided into three dioceses, namely Sherborne, Wells, and Crediton. He gives the line of Bishops of the mother bishopric, Sherborne, down to the sixteenth Bishop, Alfred ; then the list of Bishops of Wells,¹ Wellenses or Fontanenses, from Athelm to Ælfheah, the third Bishop ; and then the Bishops of Crediton, Eadwulf the first and Athelgar the second. Here, then, we have the other three of the five Wessex bishops said to have been consecrated by Plegmund at one time. And if we can shew that the

¹ The tradition should be recorded here that there had been a See of Wells some two hundred years before this. The tradition deals with an early British See at Congresbury in north Somerset (now pronounced Coombsbury), which two British saints, Fagan and Duman, are said to have founded. The last bishop is said to have been Daniel, consecrated in 704, the place of the See being changed to a village called Tydenton, called afterwards Wells. There is at least so much in the tradition as this, that Daniel, the sixth West Saxon Bishop, between whom and Aldhelm of Malmesbury the West Saxon diocese was divided, was consecrated about the time named for the consecration of the traditional Daniel of Congresbury. The early See of Wells is said by the tradition to have come to an end in 721 ; the only ecclesiastical event of that year which can bear upon the question is the visit of Daniel to Rome. Geographically, Congresbury and Wells should have gone to Aldhelm, not Daniel. William of Malmesbury, however, tells that Daniel lived at Malmesbury after his resignation of the See of Winchester, and died and was buried there. He says that a consistent report of the fact had been handed down in the monastery, and adds that the Wintonians claimed that he was buried with them, but they could not shew any real or supposed memorial of him.

sub-division of Winchester on the east and Sherborne on the west could as a matter of history be contemporaneous, we have solved that part of the problem which affects us to-day.

This we can do. Denewulf of Winchester died in 908, and Frithestan and Athelstan were selected to succeed to the two parts of the newly divided See. Before they were consecrated, Asser of Sherborne died, in 908. No doubt the sub-division of Sherborne had been agreed upon at the same time as the sub-division of Winchester, but it had to wait till Sherborne was vacant. Asser's death made the sub-division immediate. The three men were selected, and the consecration of Frithestan and Athelstan was deferred till all five could be consecrated together. We may, I think, almost say that there is no problem left so far as the consecration of the five Wessex bishops on one day in the year 909 is concerned, and we have a clear and simple view of the facts and the order of this startling development of two Sees into five at one time.

The manner in which the manuscript states these several changes is quite clear. It may be well to give the main parts, omitting the long lists of two of the sets of bishops.

Occidentalium Saxonum

Birinus fuit episcopus qui cum consilio honorii pape venerat brittaniā.

Agilbert

Wine

Leutherius

Hædde

de inde in duas parrochias divisus¹ est altera wentanorum ecclesie altera scireburnensis ecclesie

Wentane civitatis episcopi

Danihel

.

Frithestan

Ælfheah

de inde wentoniensis ecclesia in duas parrochias divisa est tempore Frithestani unam tenuit Frithestan et altera Æthelstan postea oda. [This second See is not named. We know that Odo was Bishop of Ramsbury.]

Scireburnensis

Adhelm [sic]

.

Asser

Æthelweard

de inde in tres parrochias divisa est willensis ecclesie et cridiensis ecclesie

Scireburnensis ecclesie

Wærtsan

.

Willensis ecclesie

Æthelmus

Wulfhelmus

Ælfheah

Cridiensis ecclesie

Eadulf

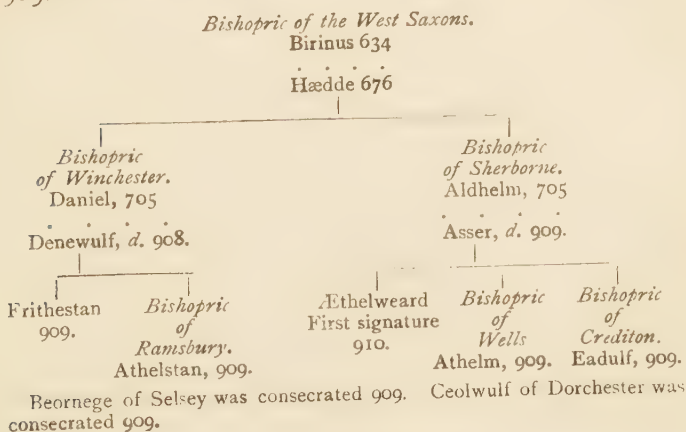
Æthelgar

The Cotton manuscript, Tib. B. v., which Dr. Stubbs describes as the earliest of the tenth-century manu-

¹ *Episcopatus* (Bede, H. E. v. 18), not as in other cases, *ecclesia*. The early MS., Cotton Vesp. B. 6, has *divisus*; a later Saxon hand has written the letter *a* above the *us*.

scripts giving the details of the lists of bishops, states this sub-division as follows :—(after the words *postea oda*) *Deinde in tres parrochias divisa est . wiltunensis . et willensis . et cridiensis . ecclesiae*. This Cotton manuscript appears to me in several respects later than the Corpus manuscript, and in this entry it is apparently ill informed. Wiltonensis was one of the names of the Ramsbury diocese, Sunningensis another, besides Corvinensis and Ramesburia.

Taking note that the scribe in the later cases of division inserts the notice of division after the name of the bishop who came next, this can be stated best in the form of a pedigree. Dates are added to shew the remarkable coincidences which render 909 the central point. The date given is the date of the commencement of the episcopate, excepting two cases where it is the date of death, and one where the date of the first signature of the bishop to a charter is given, 910, his predecessor having died in 908, and the year of his own consecration not being stated, but naturally falling in 909.



The lists of about the year 934 correct William in many respects, especially in connection with Wærstan, whom he makes Bishop of Dorset, Berks, and Wilts, and kills at the battle of Brunanburgh in 937. He makes him to have been preceded by three bishops of Sherborne, Asser, Sighelm, Ethelward. But Sighelm's signatures run from 923 to 932, and he died 933; his successor Alfred's signatures cover the years 933 to 943, when he died. On the other hand, Ethelward certainly succeeded Asser, for we have his signature in 910.

But there remains the question about the intervention of Formosus. We have here also the elements of explanation. The bearing of this part of the problem upon English Church history is of the highest interest, and its lessons on the state of affairs in Rome are of great value. Dr. Stubbs describes the whole story as apocryphal. So it is, in its dates, and worse than apocryphal; but in other respects there is enough of substance in it to suggest that it is founded on facts which have been distorted by some unusually ignorant chronicler. In considering those old times, we continually have to wonder how the writers knew so much as they did of what went on in distant places at home and in distant lands abroad.

Malmesbury's account receives remarkable confirmation from a letter addressed to Ethelred the Second (978-1016) by his Archbishop, not named but certainly Dunstan (960-988), found in the Bodleian collections and published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Crawford Charter* vii. In this letter, Dunstan says that "all the kingdoms of the West Saxons stood for seven years without a bishop. Then Formosus the Pope sent from Rome and admonished King Edward and

Archbishop Plegmund to amend this, and they did so." The letter then proceeds to describe the consecrations to the five Sees, and then passes on to give most interesting details of the Cornish See of St. Germans. It seems impossible after this to reject the whole story of the connection of Pope Formosus with the proceedings in Wessex at some date in his papacy.

Formosus, as Bishop of Porto, belonged to the Imperial German party in Rome, the Pope, John VIII, being the head of the anti-Imperial Party. John VIII revelled in excommunications. He passed upon Formosus the sentence of excommunication and degradation, and declared him anathema. Formosus then took an oath never again to enter Rome, and never to resume his episcopal office. That was in the year 878. In 891 he was elected Pope and accepted the office, having been absolved from his oath by a previous Pope, Marinus. Formosus died in 896, and his successor had his corpse dug up, tried, and condemned ; the benediction fingers were cut off, and his body was cast into the Tiber. His Papal acts were rescinded and annulled by Stephen¹ VII or VI, in 897, were reinstated by Theodore II in the same year, and again by John IX in 898, and were condemned again in 904 by Sergius III. The rapid succession of Popes may remind us that from John VIII, who excommunicated Formosus, to Sergius III, who finally condemned

¹ Stephen II was only Pope for three days, and some of the lists omit him, hence the doubtful VII or VI. The Bonifaces were not so treated. The Pope who immediately succeeded Formosus, Boniface VI, only held the office for eighteen days, but he is retained in the list. Curiously enough the next Boniface was an anti-Pope, in 974, and only reigned, as far as he did reign, for one month. But when another Boniface came, in 1294, he counted them both as Popes and was called Boniface VIII. It was he who issued the Bull *clericis laicos* to the Church and the State of England.

him, there were fourteen Popes and one anti-Pope in twenty-two years.

Now, Plegmund, who became Archbishop in 890, had been sent by King Alfred to Rome for his pall, and he received his pall from Formosus. The Roman claim had risen so high as to make the legality of Plegmund's metropolitical acts depend upon the legality of the gift of the pall. The effect of dependence upon Papal Rome, ever changing, the prey of party factions, the centre of violence and deceit, under the Popes one of the most unspiritual places in the Christian world, at that time just entering upon one of its chief periods of unspeakable scandal under the courtesans Theodora and Marozia, was this :—If we take it as a fact of those curious times that at least in many quarters the validity of a metropolitan's acts depended upon the continuance of the recognition of the Pope who gave him his pall as true and lawful Pope, Plegmund's metropolitical acts were valid from 891 to 897 ; in 897 they became invalid ; in that same year, 897, they became valid again, a validity confirmed in the next year, 898. In 904 they became invalid again. The English annals, which were under the hand of their originator, Plegmund, preserve an unbroken silence upon this ridiculous and embarrassing state of things ; but in our time we find the facts illuminating. It will be remembered that Stigand, the Archbishop of the time of Edward the Confessor, received his pall from the only person then acting as Pope ; but his metropolitical action was held to be invalid because the right of the Pope who gave the pall to be taken as true was afterwards denied.

It seems clear that the condemnation of Formosus in 904, after six years of the opposite policy, was held

to involve the gravest doubts as to Plegmund's position and as to the legality of his acts. We are told that in 904 Italian bishops who had been consecrated by Formosus were reconsecrated. Plegmund and King Edward set themselves to take some forward step in Wessex, an appanage of which kingdom the Archbishopric had practically become. Of all the eleven Archbishops from Plegmund to the first Norman, Robert, only the last is not known to have been promoted from Wessex. A wide scheme of sub-division was thought out and agreed upon, and in 908 Plegmund was sent with great presents to Rome, that See, William of Malmesbury two hundred years later declared, never failing one who gives money. The irregularity of Plegmund's position was cured, and he came home free to act when vacancies should come in Winchester and Sherborne, if indeed Winchester was not already vacant. Then Asser of Sherborne died immediately; and so we are here to-day. By a succession of coincidences, both of the two important sub-divisions emerged from the embryo stage and became accomplished facts.

It has been remarked that under Plegmund's charge the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle made no mention of the difficulties with Rome. It is true, also, that there is not in the Chronicle even the slightest reference to the event which has occupied our consideration on this occasion; indeed some of the Sees do not appear to be named, then or later. There is one striking exception, and fortunately it is Crediton that is mentioned. The event itself is worthy of record. The date is 977. The bishop is Sideman, the fourth of the Bishops of Crediton. The entry is the latest in the Cotton MS. which was so sadly injured by fire, Tiberius A. vi, a

manuscript written throughout in one hand of this date.

Anno DCCCC. LXXVII. In this year was a great gemote at Kyrtlington, after Easter [April 8] ; and there died Sideman bishop, by sudden death, on the second of the Kalends of May [April 30]. He was Devonshire bishop, and he willed that his body's rest-place should be at Cridiantun [Crediton], his bishop-stool. Then caused Eadweard king and Dunstan archbishop that men take him to St. Mary's minster that is at Abbandune [Abingdon], and man so did, and he is honourably buried on the north half, in St. Paulus porch.

As has already been said, this is the last entry in this interesting manuscript of the Chronicle.

Though the event which we commemorate turned upon the question of the validity of the acts of Formosus, we have not so far seen any evidence that Formosus concerned himself with the succession of Bishops in England at all—not, of course, in 904, when he was dead, but during his tenure of the Papacy. We have, however, a curious fact in this special connection. In 1072 there was a dispute as to precedence between Canterbury and York. William of Malmesbury gives us at full length the evidence which Lanfranc then produced in favour of Canterbury. This consisted of a number of letters from Popes, and among them one from Formosus to the Bishops of England. In this letter, which William gives at full length, Formosus urges upon the Bishops two special points. The first was this—they must be active to put down the pagan practices which persistently continued in England. They had been so slack in this respect that he had intended to smite them with the sword of separa-

tion from the body of the Church of God ; but his dear brother Plegmund had reported improvement on their part. The other was this—when a Bishop—and especially when an Archbishop—died, they must without any delay canonically elect a successor. Thus we can connect Formosus both with a tradition of a threatening letter to the English bishops, and also with a tradition of his intervention on exactly the point on which he was said to have reproached the King and Archbishop at the impossible date 904. It should be added that though there is not, as has been said above, any shadow of truth in the asserted statement of Formosus that the whole West Saxon kingdom had been without a bishop for seven years, it is a very curious fact that the statement did apply to the dioceses of the two bishops who were consecrated along with the five West Saxon bishops. Indeed, it might have been put very much more strongly ; for the predecessor of Ceolwulf of Dorchester had been dead more than ten years, and the predecessor of Beornege of Selsey is not named after 862, forty-seven years before 909.

So it comes about that on a review of all the information which we can discover, every part of the apparently hopeless puzzle fits into its own place in a consistent historical series of events, and we find ourselves here to-day on very sure grounds.

The Sees of Winchester, Ramsbury, Sherborne, and Wells, were more or less parts of the old district of the West Saxons. But the See of Crediton marked a clear and large step in advance. There were Saxons mingled with the Britons in Exeter as early as the time of your great Boniface. Alfred became possessed of Saxonia, that is Devonshire, and as early as 884 he

gave his district there to his learned Welsh Bishop Asser. When Asser became Bishop of Sherborne in 900, Devonshire passed with him to that See, where it remained only nine years. In 909, as we have seen, it became a bishopric to itself, and as the Missal of your own Leofric tells us, they added three districts in Cornwall to the See of Crediton, that the Bishop of Crediton might each year visit the Cornish people there, and free them of their errors. These three districts were probably the parts of Cornwall which Alfred had placed under Asser in 884. Leland tells us that the ancient Cathedral Church here at Crediton was dedicated to St. Gregory, a most uncompromising dedication for an outpost towards the ancient Britons.

Thus the See of Exeter has its origin in a bold step forward. Christian boldness and determined progress are the characters stamped upon it at and by its beginning ; characters bright and clear and showing large in the story of Devon ; as is known to the world, on this side the ocean and on that.

In the history of Crediton the year 909 is not a very early date, nor is the event of that year of relatively overwhelming importance. The share of Crediton in ecclesiastical affairs began long before that time, and while we are speaking of the sub-division of one of the many Sees of Christian England, we cannot but think of Crediton's share in the conversion of an empire. No greater man has left our shores than your own Boniface, the 1200th anniversary of whose admission to the priesthood this year 1909 probably is. And you did not leave him to wrestle alone with the pagan races of Germany. From these parts of England there went out to him a multitude of eager missionaries, readers, writers, men—and women too—learned and skilled in

various arts. We know of three of his own near relatives who went out and became his most active helpers. Willibald, his nephew, became under him the first Bishop of Eichstätt. Wunnibald, another nephew, became Abbat of one of the greatest of his monastic foundations, Heidenheim, where his niece Waltpurgis ruled over the nuns as those early Anglo-Saxon ladies so capably did—and ruled over monks as well. She made such a mark in Germany that her name is ever honoured there. She was canonised at Rome on the first of May, the night of the German Hexe-nacht dance. Your Lady Walpurga was accordingly honoured as their protectress against the magic arts of witches, and the Hexe-nacht dance lost its name and we all know it as the Walpurgis-nacht dance. From Malmesbury¹ Boniface summoned Lull and Burchardt, and probably Witta and Gregorius; these ruled the Sees of Maintz, Würzburg, Buraburg, and Utrecht. The women who helped him he summoned for the most part from Wimborne, in that land of Dorset which till 1836 was the diocese of Bristol. There a royal lady, a near relative of St. Aldhelm the first Bishop of Sherborne, had founded a famous abbey. Thence went forth Lioba, another near relation of Boniface, to preside over a large number of nuns at Bischofsheim; she ruled there for thirty years. We still have letters which passed between her and him. Chuniild and Berathgid, aunt and cousin of Lull, two ladies very erudite in liberal knowledge, were established as heads of monastic institutions in Thuringia. Chunitrud was sent to sow the seed of the Divine Word in Bavaria. Tecla was settled at Kitzingen and Ochsenfurt.

¹ In the Wilts portion of the heterogenous diocese of Bristol.

We are fortunate in possessing the letter of Boniface to the community of Wimborne which probably led to so many of its members going out to help him. In this letter he begs them to pray for him, lest he should have no fruit of his labour, should pass away not leaving behind him spiritual sons and daughters in his stead.

Nor did he fail to do something to return these benefits, to ennoble this place of his birth. He met in Rome the second Bishop of Sherborne, who was in attendance upon Frithgyth, the wife of the West Saxon King. She obtained from her husband a grant of land at Crediton, to found there the monastery which in 909 became the seat of your Bishopric.

We cannot wonder that when the holy Boniface died a martyr's death in Friesland, at Whitsuntide, 755, leaving behind him so noble a company of spiritual sons and daughters, the Archbishop of Canterbury called a general Synod to consider what should be done in memory of so great a man. They decided that in every year there should be a solemn commemoration on the day of his death, the fifth of June, and that he should be joined with Gregory and Augustine as the patrons before Christ of the English Church. No other place in the land has had that supreme honour; no other English-born man. It may reasonably be claimed that it was because of its being the birth-place or the rearing-place of the one native patron with the Almighty of the Church of the English, and the place where he had himself set an ecclesiastical foundation, that Crediton was chosen a thousand years ago to be the seat of the Bishops of Devonshire.

It may be well to add a short statement of what is known of the ecclesiastical arrangements of Cornwall

in the time of the British occupants of the country. The boundary between the West Saxons and the Cornish Britons had been at Bradford on the Avon, in Wilts, up to the year 652. The Saxons then passed on into Somerset, and in 700 they were in Exeter, sharing it with Britons. In 705 Aldhelm persuaded those of the Britons who were subject to Wessex to adopt the Catholic Easter, but he failed in his appeal to the Britons further West, who were under the rule of King Geraint. It would appear that there were then two Sees in Cornwall, and St. Germans and Bodmin claim to have been places of bishopstools. We have an exceedingly interesting document¹ which tells us the Cornish name of the place where a bishop's See was set; this is the Profession of Faith and Canonical Obedience of Kenstec, a Cornish Bishop elect, to Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury. Ceolnoth's archiepiscopate was a long one, from 833 to 870. King Egbert had overrun all Cornwall as early as 833. The profession states that Kenstec had been elected to the episcopal See in the Cornish nation in the monastery called in the tongue of the Britons *Dinnurrin*. We have in the Book of Llandaff an account of the visit of St. Teilo when he crossed from Armorica to visit King Gerennius on his death-bed. He landed in the harbour of Dingerein. It is a very reasonable supposition that this Cornish name was mis-written in the records of the Prior and Convent of Canterbury, especially when we remember the frequent slurring of the letter *g* among the Anglo-Saxons, and that *Dinnurrin* was in fact Dingerein, the fortress of Geraint himself, retaining his name. Unfortunately that does not settle the question between St. Germans and Bodmin, for both of those places

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, i. 674.

would serve for the "harbour" of Dingerein, being *supra mare juxta flumen*. The geographical position suits better for St. Germans than for Bodmin.

This early example of the Professions of Faith and Canonical Obedience to the See of Canterbury is of sufficient interest to find a place here.

In nomine Dei summi et Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Kenstec, humilis licet et indignus, ad Episcopalem sedem in gente Cornubia in monasterio quod lingua Brettonum appellatur *Dinnurin* electus, in primis confiteor tibi, sanctissime pater Ceolnode Archiepiscopo, quod absque omni dubietate credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, cœli et terræ factorem, et in Jesum Christum Filium Ejus, Qui natus est de casta et intemerata virgine atque inviolata matre Maria, passusque pro humani generis redemptione et salute, similiter et in Spiritum Sanctum, procedentum de Patre et Filio, co-adorandum ac glorificandum : illam Sanctam Trinitatem et veram Unitatem ore et corde et omnibus adoro et glorifico atque etiam laudo omnibus diebus vitæ meæ. Fateor etiam cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione, piissime et prudentissime præsul, quod in omnibus sancta¹ sede¹ Dorovernensis Ecclesiæ et tibi tuis que successoribus obœdibilis servunculus supplexque clientulus usque ad terminum transeuntis vitæ sine ullo falsitatis frivolæ cogitationis scrupulo fieri paratus sum. Ego Kenstec mea propria manu confirmando subscribo signaculo Crucis Christi.

The foundation of the See of Crediton did not terminate the succession of bishops in Cornwall, as indeed it was evidently not intended to do. The

¹ So in the original.

British Bishop of Cornwall was a recognised suffragan of Canterbury. The first Saxon to hold the See of Cornwall was in 950. Between 1026 and 1043 the Cornish See was merged in the Devon See of Crediton. In 1050 the united See was transferred to Exeter. In 1072 the first Norman Bishop came to Exeter, Osbern, in succession to the Saxon Leofric who had carried out the transference of the See to Exeter, and left to the new See the priceless manuscripts of which the Exeter ecclesiastics are now so justly proud and so loyally and admirably careful.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

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PART I

Birth and name—Grecised German names—The time was ripe for Erasmus—His career—Important English pupils—Oxford—Praise of England—Foxye, Fisher, More, and Prince Henry—Cambridge—Henry VIII's letter—Descriptions of Henry VIII by Erasmus and Falieri—Erasmus's letter on leaving England—Praise of Warham, of England, of English bishops—The Scotists—Bishop Fitzjames—Erasmus's flattery—Colet—More's horse—Further visits to England—Erasmus's wealth—His writings—The Adages, examples.

ERASMUS was born in 1467 and died at the age of sixty-nine in 1536, a critical date in the English Reformation. He was a Dutchman, born out of wedlock, his father's name being Gerard. There are various accounts of the origin of his names, Desiderius Erasmus, which he created for himself, though one account states that he was christened Herasmus. It appears that he regarded the surname Gerard as meaning in Dutch something "desirable," probably in connection with the German *gieren* and *gierig*; but as those words have an active not a passive force, "to crave for," and "greedy," they rather point to his character as an unmitigated beggar than to the names Desiderius and Erasmus.

The story goes that when he assumed the Greek name Erasmus he was not aware that it should have been Erasmius, and he was very unhappy about it, and named his godson Erasmius.

It became a pedantic custom with the Reformers to Grecise their names. Ochshorn called himself Bucer, Haus-schein Ecolampadius, Schwartzerde Melancthon. I do not remember to have seen a Grecising of Luther's name. A contemporary epigram on the name Luther shews that Martin would have been in a difficulty if he had made the attempt; neither Harpax nor Bomo-lachus would have sounded well :—

Germanis *latro* Luther est, et *scurra* Bohemis,
Martinus nobis *scurra* latroque simul.

which may be Englished thus:—

To Germans “ Luther ” means a robber, to Bohemians a buffoon,
To us who know our Martin well, it means them both in one.

Edward IV was on the throne of England when Erasmus was born. Luther was born sixteen years later, and Henry VIII eight years after Luther. When Erasmus died, Henry, once the friend of Erasmus, had passed his Act for the dissolution of Monasteries, and had beheaded two of Erasmus's best loved friends, Fisher and More. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, sixteen years before his birth, had caused a flight of Greek scholars to Western Europe, and the knowledge of Greek revived, after centuries of dark slumber. A friar preached against it in London, on the well-known ground that it is the language spoken by the devils in

hell. The invention of printing, in Erasmus's country, a few years before his birth, came just in time to spread his writings in hundreds of thousands.

Erasmus was forced when quite young to enter a monastery in Holland, when his whole soul was given to the acquisition of learning. He found the monks given up to ignorance and idleness, and the personal vices which follow in the train of ignorance and idleness, especially in places of enforced celibacy. In course of time he was ordained priest ; but he does not seem to have made much of it, and neither in his letters nor in his works does this side of his life make any show. He lived for study alone, for many years maintaining himself by taking pupils in various parts of the Continent, and begging from all kinds of people. He was several times in England, and taught Greek at Cambridge, where his rooms are still shewn in Queens' College. Archbishop Warham gave him a rectorial pension, and Cranmer continued it to him to the end of his days. The Emperor Charles V also in his later days paid him a considerable stipend annually. In the end, after ruthlessly shewing up the rottenness of the Church system as it had come to be in many parts of Europe in the later Middle Ages, the wickedness of the lives of monks and ecclesiastics, and the heathenism into which Christianity had lapsed among the Latin races—after all this, he was offered a Cardinal's Hat. He was too old to change his manner of life ; too independent to don shackles ; and not sufficiently rich to meet the cost of the Hat. But at that end of life, and in his own case, he did not hold the kind of language he held in his younger days, when he wrote thus to the Dean of St. Paul's, a short time before the issue of his *Paraphrases* :—

The Archbishop of Mentz, still a young man, has disgraced himself by accepting a Cardinal's hat and becoming a Pope's monk. Oh, my dear Colet, what a fate for a human soul ! We make tyrants out of priests, and gods out of men. Princes, Popes, Turks, combine to make the world miserable. Christ grows obsolete, and is going the way of Moses.

When he had reached the age of thirty, Erasmus eked out his income by taking pupils on the Continent, where many Englishmen of position were being educated. Two of them were pupils of Erasmus, Grey and Mountjoy. Another of his pupils was an interesting and important Scotchman, Alexander Stewart, a natural son of James IV of Scotland ; he fell at his father's side at Flodden Field, being then Archbishop of St. Andrews. Thomas Grey was a younger son of the second Marquis of Dorset ; the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey was his niece. He was a grandson of Elizabeth Woodville, Edward IV's queen, by her first husband Lord Ferrers of Groby. He took part in Wyatt's rebellion against Queen Mary in 1554, was caught, and beheaded. William Blount in 1485 had become fourth Baron Montjoy, or Mountjoy, while still a child, in succession to his father. Mountjoy became companion of studies with the young prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. He married as his third wife Dorothy Grey, the sister of his fellow-pupil Thomas Grey ; she died before 1524. He, like Grey, took strongly the Reformation side. He signed the articles against Wolsey in 1530, and the declaration to Clement VII, drawn up by Parliament, that the King would renounce allegiance to the Pope by reason of his failure to grant his divorce. He died before Erasmus, in 1535.

In the spring of 1498-9 Mountjoy persuaded Erasmus to pay a first visit to England, and then, or soon after, he gave him a pension of £20 a year for life. In the summer Erasmus prepared to leave England, but before leaving he went to Oxford and spent two or three months there. John Colet was lecturing at Oxford at that time on the Epistle to the Romans, and wanted Erasmus to stay and lecture ; but Oxford could not teach him as much Greek as he wanted, and he left.

He had fallen in love with Oxford and with England. "I am delighted with Colet and Charnock," he wrote to Mountjoy. Charnock was Prior of St. Mary's College in Oxford, which stood on the site of Frewin Hall, and was Erasmus's host. Very characteristically, Erasmus wrote to Mountjoy—"Send me some money under cover, sealed with your ring. I am in debt to the Prior, who has been so kind and liberal that I must not encroach on his generosity."

To his friend Faustus Anderlin at Paris he wrote :—

Your friend Erasmus gets on well in England. He can make a show in the hunting field. He is a fair horseman, and understands how to make his way. He can make a tolerable bow, too, and can smile graciously whether he means it or not. If you are a wise man, you will cross the Channel yourself. A witty gentleman like you ought not to waste his life among that French filth. If you knew the charms of this country your ankles would be winged, or if the gout was in your feet you would wish yourself Dædalus.

To mention but a single attraction, the English girls are divinely pretty. Soft, pleasant, gentle, and

charming as the Muses. They have one custom which cannot be too much admired. When you go anywhere on a visit, the girls all kiss you. They kiss you when you arrive. They kiss you when you go away ; and they kiss you again when you return. Go where you will, it is all kisses ; and, my dear Faustus, if you had once tasted how soft and fragrant those lips are, you would wish to spend your life here.

In 1505, or soon after, he again came to England on Mountjoy's invitation. On this occasion he met Archbishop Warham of Canterbury, Richard Foxe of Winchester, and John Fisher of Rochester, who was at that time busy about the foundation of Christ's College in Cambridge for the Lady Margaret. Through Mountjoy's connection with Henry's VII's younger son Henry, it appears that he saw something of that very promising young prince. He left England to go to Italy as tutor to the two sons of the King's physician Boerio.

When Henry VII had passed away, Mountjoy and Warham sent £10 journey-money to Erasmus and brought him back to England. He stayed with Sir Thomas More at his house in Bucklersbury, and formed the friendship with More which brought so much of interest to both of them. In 1511 Fisher sent him to teach in Cambridge, where he lived in Queen's College in the rooms still shewn as his. Warham gave him a pension of £20 a year, charged on the benefice of Aldington in Kent. In 1513 he went to Basle.

There was hope in high quarters that Erasmus would settle in England and become the centre of the growing band of broad-minded students. We have one very interesting example of appeals made to him in this

sense. The reader may guess at the name of the writer as he reads the strikingly dignified and expressive words :—

I am sorry, as your constant friend and admirer, to learn from the Archbishop of Canterbury that you have ill wishers who have done you injury, and that you have been in some danger from them. Our acquaintance began when I was a boy. The regard which I then learned to feel for you has been increased by the honourable mention which you have made of me in your writings, and by the use to which you have applied your talents in the advancement of Christian truth. Hitherto you have borne your burden alone ; give me the pleasure of assisting you so far as my power extends. It has been and is my earnest wish to restore Christ's religion to its primitive purity, and to employ whatever talents and means I have in extinguishing heresy and giving free course to the Word of God. . . . Your welfare is precious to us all. If you are taken away, nothing can stop the spread of heresy and impiety. I propose therefore that you abandon the thought of settling elsewhere. Come to England, and assure yourself of a hearty welcome. You shall name your own terms ; they shall be as liberal and honourable as you please. I recollect your once saying that when you were tired of wandering you would make this country the home of your old age. I beseech you by all that is holy and good, carry out this purpose of yours. Nowhere in the world will you find safer shelter from anxiety and persecution ; and you and we together, with our joint counsels and resources, will build again the gospel of Christ.

That admirable letter was written by King Henry the Eighth, soon after his accession ; when he was about nineteen years of age ; superior, as he then was, as man, as prince, as Christian, as student, to all the princes of Europe ; in all those respects vastly superior to all the Popes of his time except the short-lived Adrian the Fourth. It is not fair to name young Henry VIII on the same page with the contemporary Pope at his accession, that wreck of intemperance and debauchery, Julius II. It is one of the very saddest personal tragedies of our history, that so good a promise was driven by a combination of causes to so ill an end. We may pause in our survey of Erasmus to note two descriptions of King Henry VIII.

Of Henry VIII at the age of twenty-eight, Erasmus, aged fifty-two, writes thus, in 1519 :—

Time was when learning was only found in the religious orders. The religious orders care nowadays only for money and sensuality, while learning has passed to secular princes and peers and courtiers. Where in school or monastery will you find so many distinguished and accomplished men as form your English Court ? Shame on us all ! The tables of priests and divines run with wine and echo with drunken noise and scurrilous jest ; while in princes' halls is heard only grave and modest conversation on points of morals or knowledge. Your king leads the rest by his example. In ordinary accomplishments he is above most and inferior to none. Where will you find a man so acute, so copious, so soundly judging, or so dignified in word and manner ? Time was when I held off from royal courts. To such a court as yours I would transfer myself and all that

belongs to me, if age and health allowed. Who will say now that learning makes kings effeminate? Where is a finer soldier than your Henry VIII, where a sounder legislator? Who is keener in council, who a stricter administrator, who more careful in choosing his ministers, or more anxious for the peace of the world? That king of yours may bring back the golden age, though I shall not live to enjoy it, as my tale draws to an end.

It is more than possible that this was a letter with a purpose, that it was meant to be seen by King Henry. Erasmus had a most unhappy propensity for begging, his manner of life being very expensive, and his own property nothing at all. He was fastidious to the last degree in the matter of eating and drinking and lodging. He declined a Pope's invitation to Rome because he could not stand the smell of the stoves in the public halting-places. He lived on pensions and gifts, in large part from England. He could flatter in the most shameless manner to get money, and urge others to flatter and tell lies on his behalf. And though he had this unpleasant way, or perhaps because he had it, he could write most acutely on "how to distinguish a flatterer from a friend," in a treatise filling twenty-two folio columns in small type.

But however we may discount this very remarkable encomium upon King Henry, great part of which was at that period of his life deserved, no suspicion of flattery can attach to a very similar judgment addressed by Falieri, the Venetian Ambassador, to the Council at Venice. It certainly was not meant to see the light. It was a confidential report made by the Ambassador at a highly critical period, when every-

thing depended upon an accurate knowledge of the personal characteristics of the sovereigns of Europe, lay and clerical. While Erasmus had written his encomium years before the question of the divorce had been heard of, Falieri wrote in 1528, when Henry was thirty-seven years of age, and the request for a divorce had for some time been before Pope Clement VII. This is Falieri :—

In the 8th Henry such beauty of mind and body is combined as to surprise and astonish. Grand stature, suited to his exalted position, shewing the superiority of mind and character ; a face like an angel's, so fair it is ; his head bald, like Cæsar's, and he wears a beard, which is not the English custom. He is accomplished in every manly exercise, sits his horse well, tilts with his lance, throws the quoit, shoots with his bow excellent well ; he is a fine tennis player, and he practises all these gifts with the greatest industry. Such a prince could not fail to have cultivated also his character and his intellect. He has been a student from his childhood ; he knows literature, philosophy, and theology ; speaks and writes Spanish, French, and Italian, besides Latin and English. He is kind, gracious, courteous, liberal, especially to men of learning, whom he is always ready to help. He appears religious, also, generally hears two masses a day, and on holy days High Mass besides. He is very charitable, giving away ten thousand gold ducats annually among orphans, widows, and cripples.

To return to Henry VIII's invitation to Erasmus to make his home in England, and the large promises which accompanied the invitation, Erasmus, as we

have seen, came to England. But he did not stay here. Something was not up to his expectations. Mr. Froude suggests that he may have desired to be admitted formally into the Privy Council. However that might be, he came to feel that he had made a mistake in leaving Rome to come to England, and to Rome he desired to return. We have the letter in which he expressed his feelings to one of the Cardinals :—

I had many friends in England. Large promises were held out to me, and the King himself seemed to be my special friend. England was my adopted country. I had meant always that it should be the home of my old age. I was invited over. I was pressed to go. I was promised rivers of gold, and though I am generally careless of money I had looked to find a stream of it running fuller than Pactolus. I rather flew than went. Do I repent? Well, I will be perfectly frank. When I think of Rome, and all its charms and all its advantages, yes, I do repent. Rome is the centre of the world. In Rome is liberty. In Rome are the splendid libraries. In Rome one meets and converses with men of learning. In Rome are the magnificent monuments of the past. On Rome are fastened the eyes of mankind, and in Rome are the Cardinals, yourself [Grymanus] the foremost among them, who were so wondrous good to me. My position in England was not amiss, but it was not what I had been led to expect, and was not what had been promised to me. The King was kind, no one could be more so; but he was carried away by a sudden storm of war. He was young, high minded, and strongly influenced by religion. He went into it enthusiastically, to

defend the Holy See against French aggression. . . . The Archbishop of Canterbury [Warham] did all for me that was possible. He is one of the best of men, and an honour to the realm, wise, judicious, learned above all his contemporaries, and so modest that he is unconscious of his superiority. Under a quiet manner, he is witty, energetic, and laborious. He is experienced in business. He has played a distinguished part in foreign embassies. Besides being Primate, he is Lord Chancellor, the highest judicial office in the realm ; yet with all his greatness he has been father and mother to me, and has partly made up to me what I sacrificed in leaving Rome. But——

Of England in general Erasmus wrote in terms of high praise and passionate regret, when he had left meaning never to see it again :—

Oh splendid England ! home and citadel of virtue and learning ! How I congratulate you on having such a prince to rule you, and your prince on subjects who throw such lustre on his reign ! No land in the world is like England. In no country would I prefer to spend my days. Intellect and honesty thrive in England under the prince's favour. In England there is no masked sanctimoniousness ; and the empty babble of educated ignorance is driven out or put to silence. In this place [Louvain] I am torn by envenomed teeth. Preachers go about screaming lies about me among idiots as foolish as themselves.

We have seen in what high terms of praise Erasmus wrote of Archbishop Warham, Cranmer's predecessor at Lambeth. It is satisfactory to note that he had

more good to say of the English bishops than of almost all the bishops of Europe. As late as 1530 he writes that the Bishops of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstall) and Lincoln (John Langlands) send him gems of epistles. He is at that time well off for money and for gold and silver plate. In those days and for some considerable time after, gold and silver cups and tankards were treated as bullion, and sold to meet ordinary expenses in a ruthless way. They went freely to the melting-pot in enormous numbers. "I have a chest-full of gold and silver plate," Erasmus says, "cups, clocks, and rings, which have been presented to me, and I had many more which I have given away to other students. Of the givers, some are sages ; some are saints, like the Archbishop of Canterbury [Warham] and the Bishops of London [presumably still Tunstall] and Rochester" [John Fisher]. There are five of the English Episcopate—Canterbury, Durham, Lincoln, London, Rochester—all selected for very special praise in a private letter to a friend, Mexia, in Spain, a fourth part of the whole episcopate of England, for Henry had not at that time created the six additional Sees founded on the revenues of monastic institutions. It had not been always so. In the time of the previous Bishop of London, Fitz James, Erasmus wrote—"I will say no harm of the Bishop of London, except that he was a superstitious and malignant Scotist."

It is satisfactory to know that there were no such charges against the one English bishop whom Erasmus blames as there were against bishops in other parts of the world of Europe. But when we ask ourselves how much of abuse underlies the phrase "a superstitious and malignant Scotist," we may turn, for an answer,

to one of his letters to his English pupil, Thomas Grey, where he states his feeling about the Scotists, even when not conditioned by the epithet "malignant."

You may now fancy me sitting yawning over those volumes of Scotus, knitting my brows, staring into vacancy. They say the Scotist theology cannot be understood by disciples of the Muses and the Graces. You must first forget what you have learned elsewhere. You must part with the nectar you drank on Helicon. I do my best. I speak bad Latin. I never risk a jest. I am getting on. They will take Erasmus for one of themselves by-and-by. You ask what all this means. It means that when you see me next, you will find nothing left of your old acquaintance. Do not mistake me. Theology itself I reverence and always have revered. I am speaking merely of the theologastries of our own time, whose brains are the rottenest, intellects the dullest, doctrines the thorniest, manners the brutalest, life the foulest, speech the spitefulest, hearts the blackest, that I have ever encountered in the world.

If to all this we add Erasmus's two special epithets personal to Fitz James, superstitious and malignant, we may fairly wonder what Erasmus would have said if he had wished to speak harm of the bishop. After all, Richard Fitz James was a useful man of much and varied experience. He was Warden of Merton, and he introduced reforms in Oxford. He was Chaplain to Edward IV. He was Bishop successively of Chichester and of London, and he built Fulham Palace. He had done so much for the buildings and endowments of Merton College that he might almost be called a second founder. He did much, as Bishop of London, for the

restoration and beautifying of St. Paul's, his Cathedral Church. He was unflinchingly for the old order of things. He defended his Chancellor, Horsey, in the tragically momentous matter of the death of Hunne, the merchant tailor accused of heresy.

I have remarked that Erasmus would flatter in a shameless manner to get money. He used to translate short treatises from Greek to Latin and dedicate the little book to some important person, who paid for the dedication. It was the way of the time ; and it went on for long after that. Good men lent themselves to it, as one way of helping poor scholars. Thus we find Colet dunned by Erasmus for fifteen angels, which he had promised for the dedication of the treatise *De copia verborum*. Colet replied sarcastically that he would send money if Erasmus would ask for it humbly. This was so true a touch that even Erasmus resented it, in a letter of much interest. From this letter it appears that his enemies had accused him of not translating the treatises from the original Greek, but merely polishing up the bad Latin of some one else's translation. Erasmus was inclined to be slippery in matters of property, as the following instance will shew rather amusingly. He had debated with More the question of the Real Presence of the Body of Christ. More had gone so far as to declare that the reception of the Body of Christ depended upon the faith of the recipient. Soon after, Erasmus borrowed one of More's horses, and he and the horse vanished. More sent for the horse, but it appears to have been turned into money, as was usual in those days at the end of a journey when you had bought your horse at the beginning of the journey. This was the answer More got to his demand for the horse :—

Quod mihi dixisti
De Corpore Christi
Crede quod edas et edis ;
Sic tibi rescribo
De tuo palafrido
Crede quod habeas et habes.

This we may English thus :—

My very dear Sir
Your arguments were
Believe that you eat It you eat It ;
Applying their force
To the case of your horse
Believe that you have it you have it.

Erasmus paid two more visits to England after this. He came in 1516, after the publication of his New Testament ; but an appointment as Counsellor to the young King Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V, called him away to Brussels. The next spring, 1517, he came again, in connection with an application for dispensation from the duty of wearing canonical dress, which had been granted by Julius II and was now confirmed by Leo X. England saw him no more, but the help which he was accustomed to receive from England did not fail him. His pensions continued, and in the last year of his life, 1536, he received presents of twenty angels from Thomas Crumwell and eighteen angels from Archbishop Cranmer. Indeed he was very well off in his later years. The sale of his books brought in a large income. The Emperor, as we have seen, was generous. Presents kept coming in, from many quarters and in many forms, from a gift of two hundred florins from Clement VII to sweets and comfits from the nuns of Cologne.

We must now turn to the multitudinous writings of Erasmus.

His first important work was his collection of Adages, published in 1498, the date of the invention of printing being usually stated as only fifty years before that. While he used the Latin word *adagium* to describe the kind of sayings which he collected from his common-place book, he called them also "proverbs." "It is very easy they say to write proverbs," he said; "but to write chiliads [thousands] of proverbs is a different matter." In his completed edition of Adages there are five chiliads, 5251 in all. If Erasmus had been as much inclined to look into the origin and special meanings of words as we in this more interested age are, he would have said, after the fashion of the schoolmen, *Distinguo*. Strictly speaking, you can invent many "adages," you cannot invent one "proverb." The adage is an apt saying, apt to its context, or a saying fit to act upon. A proverb is an adage that has been invented in former times as an adage, or has grown up by degrees and taken a permanent place in the speech of a people; it has come to be a phrase current with the public, strictly a word or saying that is in public use. As a general fact, Erasmus took both proverbs and adages from the notes of his voracious reading of classical and post-classical authors. In imitation of Plutarch, he also published a collection of "Apophthegms," yet a third word for describing the same sort of saying. It is the simplest and most expressive of the words, meaning "that which rings out smartly," as a fine plaque of porcelain, or a tubular gong, when struck.

These collections had a very wide vogue, and under the conditions of the times they well deserved it. Their reception suggests, as do many details of Erasmus's life and writings, that conversation was a matter of

quips and cranks and smart retorts, with many a *double entendre* which would not be possible in decent society in our day.

It may be well to give a few examples, without classing them under the three several heads. Several of these are among the sayings noted in the Index to the ten folio volumes of Erasmus's writings as *Salse dicta*, wittily said.

We may take first an example longer than the others selected, to shew the careful and orderly manner in which Erasmus classifies the sayings, and how he develops them. Though longer than those which follow here, it is selected as comparatively short in Erasmus's collection. They are all in Latin throughout.

The XXth Proverb of the IIId. Century of the Vth Chiliad.

Ranis vinum præministras : βατράχοις οἶνοχοεῖς, i.e. Ranis vinum infundis. You give frogs wine to drink.

It was said against any one who ministered something to one who had no need for it, as if a man speaking to unlearned people discussed philosophy at great length. For frogs have no need of wine ; they delight rather in marsh water. The *adage* is explained by Zenodotus, Suidas, Diogenianus, Pherecrates, Athenæus. "Go to the devil ! You should pour out wine for frogs !" It was the abuse of a man's butler, who had served two pints of water with four pints of wine. Hence we may gather that the *proverb* aims also at those who dilute wine with an immoderate proportion of water, so that they seem to be drinking water, like frogs.

Agis of Lacedæmon, going round the walls of

Corinth, and noting their great height and powerful construction, asked—"Who are the women that live behind these walls."

Antalcidas, to whom a certain Athenian called the Lacedæmonians unlearned, asked him—"Are we the only people who have learned no evil from you?" He struck, the editor explains, at the arts of which the Athenians boasted themselves, for ostentation, for ease, for pleasure, rather than for governing a republic, as to which the Lacedæmonians had no lack of knowledge.

Pausanias (a second) tells that a fugitive from Lacedæmon was praising the Lacedæmonians at Tegea. He was asked why he didn't stay there. Because, he replied, the doctors live among the sick, not the sound. He hit, it is explained, at the Tegeatans, for their morals needed Spartan discipline.

On seeing a picture of Lacedæmonians being slain by Athenians, a man exclaimed, "Those Athenians *are* brave!" "In a picture," Lacon remarked, "pictures tell as many lies as poets."

This same Lacon painted on his shield, as his ensign, a fly, the size of life. To those who laughed at him, and declared it meant he would keep out of the sight of the foe, Nay, he said, it means that I am to be conspicuous to the foe, so near him that he can see my ensign clearly.

Empedocles of Agrigentum, observing that his citizens were given up to pleasures and built sumptuous houses, said—These Agrigentines indulge in pleasures as if they were to die next day, and build as if they were to live for ever.

Strato the Physician, when he was told that his rival Menedemus had more hearers attending his lectures

than he had, made reply—What wonder that more wish to be washed than anointed? It is explained that anointing was the treatment for an athlete. The philosophy of Menedemus was watered down, Strato's was bracing.

Dionysius the Sophist used to say that honey should be taken with the tip of the finger, not in the hollow of the hand. That is, Pleasure should be taken very sparingly.

A soldier said to Leonidas—The enemy is very near us. Nay, Leonidas said; we are very near them.

With that truly *salse dictum* we may end our quotations.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

PART II

Writings—The Praise of Folly—Dialogue between the Pope and St. Peter—Von Hutten's Letters of Obscure Persons—First edition of the New Testament—Paraphrases of the Books of Scripture—Colloquies—Immense extent and sale of Erasmus's writings—The Greek Text of the New Testament—The Complutensian Polyglot—Indistinctness of reading the Services—More's epigram—Ludicrous arguments from the Latin text of the Scriptures—"Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it"—Erasmus on Luther and the Bull against him—Erasmus's experience of the Reformation in Bâle—Contemporary account of the Reformation in the Engadine—Erasmus applied the poultice, Luther the knife.

IN 1510 Erasmus published his "*Encomium Moriae, Stultitiæ Laus*, Praise of Folly." This was a scathingly ironical attack upon the typical churchman of the time, if, indeed, the type is true.

The origin of this very famous work, with the reference of its title to the name of Sir Thomas More, whose views the treatise is intended to express, was very interesting. It has been variously stated. Erasmus, we are told, before leaving England on one occasion, spent a fortnight with Bishop Fisher at Rochester. More came down to be with them, and they talked over a suggested book, on a subject which had already been discussed at Chelsea. Erasmus put it into shape on his way from Calais to Brussels, and then wrote it out in one week. Erasmus's own account, as given for

publication in his dedication of the work to Sir Thomas More, is as follows :—

Returning from Italy to England, I was unwilling to waste all the time I had to spend on horseback in illiterate talk. I preferred to think over some of our common studies or to enjoy the recollection of the friends, no less amiable than learned, that I had left there. Of these, you, my More, were among the first. As the occasion did not seem suitable for serious meditation, your surname of More was the first thing that struck me. It is just as near the name of *Moria* or Folly, as you are far from the thing. I determined to amuse myself with the Praise of *Moria*, Folly.

When we allow every department of life to have its own amusement, how unfair it would be to deny to study any relaxation at all ; especially if the proposed pastime may lead to something serious, and ridiculous subjects be so treated that a reader not altogether thick headed may derive more profit from them than from some solemn or brilliant arguments found elsewhere. Nothing is more trifling than to treat serious questions frivolously ; but nothing is more amusing than to treat trifles in such a way as to shew yourself anything but a trifler.

He begged More to accept it (the book) and protect it, so that it became his own ; More, not Erasmus ; for some might complain that its trifles were in some parts more frivolous than became a theologian, and in others more aggressive than became Christian moderation. It was certainly very biting, and though it might not

mention express names it swept in whole classes. He defends himself thus :—

As to the charge of mordaciousness, when a writer censures the lives of men without reflecting upon any one by name, I would ask does he not appear as a teacher rather than a detractor ? And, pray, how many names can I accuse myself of having mentioned ?

I have not followed Juvenal's example, nor made acquaintance anywhere with the hidden sink of wickedness, but have endeavoured to pass under review not so much what is shocking as what is ridiculous.

In the work itself he puts in the forefront his assertion of the world-wide homage to Folly:—

Folly is the moving principle of human existence. Neither man nor woman would ever think of marrying, without Folly. No goddess has so many worshippers. Pious people offer candles to the Virgin Mary, but they do not pay her the compliment of imitating her. They keep that compliment for her rival, Folly. The whole world is Folly's temple. There is one advantage in the cult ; no images of the goddess are needed, for each worshipper is an image of Folly.

The chief attack was upon friars, theologians, popes, cardinals and bishops. The laity were not spared ; but it is a remarkable note of the times that the severest critics found comparatively little to say against the lay people. The celibate clergy afforded vastly more scandal than the presumably equally profligate laity. We may perhaps take it that at

least in those times, it was the wicked person more than the wicked thing that mattered.

We may take two examples of the destructive criticism of which the Praise of Folly is full, and give them in Mr. Froude's words. They lose nothing of their vigour in his hands.

They bray out the Psalms in the churches like so many jackasses. They do not understand a word of them, but they fancy the sound is pleasing to the ears of the saints. The mendicant friars howl for alms along the streets. They pretend to resemble the Apostles, and they are filthy, ignorant, impudent vagabonds. They quarrel with each other, and curse each other. They steal into honest men's houses and pollute them, and, wasps as they are, no one dare refuse them admittance for fear of their stings. They hold the secrets of every family through the confessional, and when they are drunk, or wish to amuse the company, they let them out to the world. If any wretched man dares to shew them up, they pay him off from the pulpits, and never stop barking till you fling them a piece of meat.

So far as the Friars were concerned, we must remember in their favour that living as they originally did in very sordid abodes among the very poor, they had the sound common sense to hold as their very practical and true motto, *Tria sunt necessaria ad salutem temporalem, cibus, somnus, jocus.*

Again, of sermons :—

Never were such stage players. They lift their theologic brows. They talk of their doctors solemn,

doctors subtle and most subtle, doctors seraphic, doctors cherubic, doctors holy, doctors irrefragable. They have their syllogisms, their majors and minors, inferences, corollaries, suppositions ; and for a fifth act of the play they tell some absurd story and interpret it allegorically, tropologically, anagogically, and make it into a chimera more extravagant than poet ever invented. They open their sermons quietly, and begin in a tone so low that they can scarcely hear themselves. Then suddenly they raise their voices and shout, when there is nothing to shout about. They are directed to be entertaining, so they crack jokes as if they were asses playing a fiddle. They practise all the tricks of the platform, and use them badly ; and yet they are admired—yes, wonderfully admired—by women who are on bad terms with their husbands.

At the same time with the Praise of Folly, there appeared a dialogue between the late Pope Julius II (Julian della Rovere, 1503–1513) and St. Peter, at the gate of heaven, which convulsed the world of Europe with wrath or laughter. It is very difficult to see who except Erasmus had the knowledge and the wit and the Latinity to write it. He declared, it is true, that he had never written anything to which his name was not attached. But his denials all had a twist in them, and I doubt if they convinced his friends, or were intended to convince. Mr. Froude published a charming translation of the dialogue as an appendix to his lectures : it fills twenty octavo pages of smallish type. A few extracts will be enjoyable. It was put on the stage at Paris, and had a great success.

The *dramatis personæ* are three, Julius, his Familiar

Spirit, and St. Peter. Mere decency renders it necessary to omit some of the charges against the Pope, but it is only fair to the author to say that he did not exaggerate the misdoings or the character of the Pope.

Julius. Gates not open ! Something wrong with the lock !

Spirit. You've brought the wrong key ; that's the key of the money box !¹

Peter. What a stench ! Who are you ? What do you want here ?

Julius. I am Julius P.M., as you can see by these letters, if you can read.

Peter. P.M. ? What is that ? Pestis Maxima ?

Julius. Pontifex Maximus, you rascal.

Peter. Who are these fellows behind you ? They smell of stews, drink-shops, gunpowder. You're not precisely like an apostle, too, yourself. Priest's cassock ; bloody armour beneath. Eyes savage ; mouth insolent ; forehead brazen ; body scarred all over with marks of sin ; breath loaded with wine ; health broken with debauchery.

Julius. An end to your talk ! Open the gates, or we'll break them down. You see these followers of mine.

Peter. I see a lot of precious rogues ; but they won't break in here. What had the Venetians done to you ?

Julius. They told scandalous stories about me.

Peter. True, or false ?

Julius. No matter which. To speak ill of the Pope is a sacrilege.

¹ The remainder of my extracts will not again introduce the Familiar Spirit.

Peter. And what about the Duke of Ferrara ?

Julius. He was an ungrateful wretch. Besides, I wanted Ferrara for my son.

Peter. What ! What ! A Pope with wife and children !

Julius. A wife ! No indeed ! but why not children ?

Peter. You spoke of a Schismatical Council. Explain that.

Julius. They said I had sworn at my installation to call a Council in two years, and that I had been elected on that condition.

Peter. Was it so ?

Julius. Why yes, it was. But I absolved myself. A Pope cannot be deposed for any crime whatsoever.

Peter. What ! Not for murder ?

Julius. No ! Not for parricide.

Peter. Not for fornication ?

Julius. No ! Not for incest.

Peter. Not for simony ?

Julius. No ! not for six hundred acts of simony.

Peter. Not for poisoning ?

Julius. No ! not for sacrilege.

Peter. Not for blasphemy ?

Julius. No, I say.

Peter. Not for all of these collected in one single person ?

Julius. No ! Not if six hundred more are added. There is no power which can depose a Pope of Rome. Some say there is one cause for which a Pope can be deposed.

Peter. What is that ? Doing a good action, I suppose ?

Julius. If he is convicted publicly of heresy. But that is impossible. For he can cancel any canon which he does not like ; and if a charge of heresy is brought before a Council, he can always recant.

Peter. And so you called a Council in opposition to that Schismatical Council. What decisions had that synagogue of Satan come to ?

Julius. I cannot speak of it without a shudder. They wanted to reduce me, the Cardinals, the Court of Rome, to the level of Apostles ! Our wealth and power was to be taken from us, and we were to be made into Saints !

Peter. And what said your own sacrosanct Council to that ?

Julius. I told it what it was to say. Our first meeting was formal. We had two masses, of the Holy Cross and the Holy Ghost, to shew that we were acting under Divine inspiration. And then there was a speech in honour of myself. At the next session I cursed the schismatic cardinals. At the third I laid France under an interdict, to exasperate the people against the King.

Peter. And that was all ?

Julius. It was all I wanted. I had won. Then you won't open the gates ?

Peter. We are not of your communion in this place.

About this time appeared the Letters of Obscure Persons, no doubt written by Ulrich von Hutten.

I have looked through them to find one that is at once witty and quite translatable for our present purpose. But I have not found a good example. The title of Part III of the Letters, to those who know the

style of the period, will indicate the kind of language in which they are written :—It is this—“ Part III of the Letters of Obscure Persons, containing nothing but joke and sport, against arrogant sciolists, and especially detractors of the reputation of good men and contaminators of sound learning.” It is perhaps a sufficient excuse for not giving a sample, that Erasmus blamed Hutten for having gone much too far in his language against Peppercorn, and blamed him in these gentle words, as though setting an example of the more correct way of conducting a controversy :—

I am ashamed that men of reputation should be driven into crossing swords with such a monster, or dirtying paper with his name. I would rather hold my tongue than bandy words with swarms of wasps that carry poison in their tongues. I wonder that the magistrates and bishops permit such a venomous wretch to rage as he does, and that no Hercules is found to drag this new Cacus into gaol. That is the way in which such ruffians ought to be dealt with.

In 1516 Erasmus published the first edition of his New Testament, followed by his “ Paraphrases of the Books of Scripture.” These two works produced the Reformation. In 1522 he published his Colloquies, used as an easy school book for teaching Latin for many generations well into the last century. The Colloquies contain some of his smartest attacks upon the then prevalent Roman superstitions. Through a long series of years he wrote countless letters, keeping copies of them and of many of the answers to them. They cover most parts of Europe, and set before us the history of the times with extraordinary vividness. Some eighteen hundred are published in his collected

works. Besides all this, he collected with great labour endless manuscripts of the Early Fathers and published them. His collected works fill ten thousand very closely printed folio columns in the ten volumes of 1703 (Leyden), not counting the hundreds of columns of valuable indices.

The New Testament, even in its Latin dress, had been a sealed book. Short passages, a mere verse or two, had been read in the course of the services of the Church, but with so many inflections that the words were practically unintelligible, even if the people knew Latin. The text of the Scriptures, when explained, was distorted by conventional interpretations. I think there can be no doubt that the great mass of the people supposed that the ritual and practice and doctrine of the Church, as developed in the darkest and most ignorant ages, came direct from the Word of God.

The Greek text, I need hardly say, was quite unknown. It had never been printed. It is true that the "Complutensian Polyglot" was actually in type before Erasmus published his Greek text in 1516, but it had not as yet been published. The geographical description, Complutensian, is on the face of it puzzling. The explanation of the name is that Cardinal Ximenès had founded the University of Alcala, in 1499, at a place in New Castille whose Latin name was Complutum, and there published his Polyglot.

The publication of Erasmus's Greek text of the whole of the New Testament, with a new and scholarly Latin translation, came like the opening of yet another seal upon the world. It is impossible to look without emotion on the great folios, 1126 crowded columns in the edition of 1703, which flashed the divine light into

every corner and recess in Europe. We read in these days of ours of the huge numbers of certain novels which are sold. Even with that preparation we are startled to hear that in France alone a hundred thousand copies of this great volume were soon sold. Hear Mr. Froude's remark :—

“ The living facts of Christianity, the persons of Christ and the Apostles, their history, their lives, their teaching, were revealed to an astonished world. For the first time the laity were able to see, side by side, the Christianity which converted the world, and the Christianity of the Church with a Borgia Pope.”

The book would not have had anything like the startling effect it had if Erasmus had left the text to speak for itself. He annotated it. With more and more directness as edition followed edition, he pointed the bearing of the text upon the scandals of the age. Here, for instance, is a note on the whited sepulchres of St. Matthew xxiii. 27.

What would Jerome say could he see the Virgin's milk exhibited for money, with as much honour paid to it as to the consecrated Body of Christ ; the miraculous oil ; the portions of the true cross, enough if they were collected to freight a large ship ? Here we have the hood of St. Francis, there Our Lady's petticoat, or St. Anne's comb, or St. Thomas of Canterbury's shoes ; not presented as innocent aids to religion, but as the substance of religion itself—and all through the avarice of priests and the hypocrisy of monks playing on the credulity of the people. Even bishops play their parts in these fantastic shows, and approve and dwell on them in their rescripts.

Or this, on the unknown tongues of 1 Corinthians xiv. 19.

St. Paul says he would rather speak five words with a reasonable meaning in them, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue. They chant nowadays in our churches in what is an unknown tongue and nothing else, while you will not hear a sermon once in six months telling people to amend their lives. Modern church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word. The choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of religion. Why will they not listen to St. Paul? In College or Monastery it is still the same : music, nothing but music. There was no music in St. Paul's time. Words were then pronounced plainly. Words nowadays mean nothing. They are mere sounds striking upon the ear, and men are to leave their work and go to church to listen to worse noises than were ever heard in Greek or Roman theatre. Money must be raised to buy organs and train boys to squeal, and to learn no other thing that is good for them. The laity are burdened to support miserable, poisonous, corybantes, when poor, starving, creatures might be fed at the cost of them. They have so much of it in England that the monks attend to nothing else. A set of creatures who ought to be lamenting their sins fancy they can please God by gurgling in their throats. Boys are kept in the English Benedictine Colleges solely and simply to sing morning hymns to the Virgin. If they want music let them sing Psalms like rational beings and not too many even of these.

The complaint against indistinctness of reading and singing was very far from new, and we have heard whispers of it even in our own superior times. John the Deacon, in his life of Pope Gregory the Great, declares that when the Germans or Gauls tried to sing the Gregorian chant, with its "delicate modulations"—as John puts it—their barbarous and bibulous throats produced a rattle like wagons crashing down stone steps; so that the feelings of the congregation were rasped and stunned, instead of being soothed. Even in Italy, Gregory had himself to admonish his singing school with a whip. In Charlemagne's time the Franks were great offenders in the roughness of their singing in church. They could not manage to enunciate the words when they came to the inflections and trills and runs; they broke the words up in their throats, instead of enunciating them. A Council of the English Church, held in 747, ordered that the priests should not gabble or chatter the service after the fashion of secular poets; lest they destroy or confuse the rhythm and clearness of the sacred words; they must follow a simple and holy melody, after the manner of the Church; and if the priest is not able to sing he must read clearly what it is his business to say.

We have an epigram of Sir Thomas More's on this subject of reading and chanting. From it we may gather that some of the bishops of his acquaintance chanted very badly. We may gather, further, that in his opinion a man was the more likely to be made a bishop the more mediocre he was, not too bad and not too good at his business in church.

De quodam male cantante et bene legente.

You sang your part so badly that a bishop you might be,
Yet read your part so well that you a bishop cannot be.
If it should be your wish that you a bishop come to be,
You should not read so well nor sing just quite so dreadfully.

The Paraphrases of the several books of Scripture followed. They were read with extraordinary avidity, in church and out of church. We find still the old volume, still chained to its desk, in some of our churches.

The scholarly Latin version for scholars, and the Paraphrases for the common folk, produced an impression which ended in the Reformation. Ignatius Loyola once looked into Erasmus's New Testament, read a little, and couldn't go on. He said it checked his devotional emotions. Among other uses of the great work, it exploded a number of traditional and forced arguments drawn from the Vulgate version. Erasmus tells us that in disputing the right to burn heretics, he was met by two Scriptural arguments which the priest who used them held to be absolutely convincing. "You are told in the New Testament," he said, "in so many words, to put an end to the life of a heretic." "Where is that?" Erasmus asked. "A man that is an heretic, *de vita*, put out of life." "But," pleaded Erasmus, "it is one word, *devita*, avoid; a man that is a heretic, avoid." "Then," the priest continued, still quoting from the Latin, "You are told not to allow a heretic to live." "Where is that?" "Heretics are malefactors, and you are told in the Old Testament not to allow malefactors, *maleficos*, to live." But, Erasmus replied, "*maleficos* means witches and wizards." On another occasion, a Dominican accused Erasmus, to a friend, of having said that bishops kept four or five concubines. "Where is that?" "He has said that they keep four or five *episcopas*." "But," was the answer, "*epicopas* doesn't mean bishops' wives or concubines, it means *bishoprics*, as in Acts i. 20, his bishopric let another take. It is plurality, not in this

case immorality, that Erasmus charged against the bishops.

Erasmus's New Testament and Paraphrases, and his continual attacks upon the corruptions of the Church and churchmen, caused it to be said, and I think with much reason, that Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it. When this came in the end to Luther's ears, he refined upon it, in the manner of the schoolmen. He suggested an enquiry into the sex of the egg, which he allowed that he had laid, and having solved that question he showed how comparatively light was his share of the result, and how exceedingly large Luther's share. "The egg I laid was a hen. Luther hatched a game-cock." That puts in an egg-shell, if the phrase—so apposite to the genius of Erasmus—be allowed, the whole position and attitude of Erasmus towards Reformation. Reform was in his judgment absolutely necessary. He was almost as strong and ardent a reformer of ecclesiastical abuses as Sir Thomas More himself, though without the layman's detachment which allowed More to go so far as he did against monkery and such like. But Erasmus would have all orderly and quiet, done from within. He could not endure rebelliousness, or public indecorum.

Here are some of his views :—

No one has been more distressed at this Luther business than I have been. Would that I could have stopped it at the outset. Would that now I could bring about a composition. But it has been ill-managed from the first. It rose from the avarice of a party of monks, and has grown step by step to the present fury. The Pope's dignity must of course be

supported ; but I wish he knew how that dignity suffers from officious fools who imagine they are defending him. Their stupid screams have more recommended Luther to the multitude than any other thing. I told them they must answer him, and no one has done it.

Some of them hate me worse than they hate him, because I have tried to bring them back to primitive Christianity. The Pope's Bull requires all preachers to denounce Luther. Many of them said more against me than against him. One doctor thundered at me in Antwerp. A Suffragan of the Bishop of Tournay at Bruges, with a pair of eyes bleared with the wine he had been drinking, stormed for a whole hour at both of us, producing nothing which we had written, but calling us beasts, blockheads, asses, geese, and such like. In a second sermon he charged me with flat heresy. A magistrate present bade him point out the heretical passages. The scoundrel dared to answer that he had not read my books. He had tried the Paraphrases, but found the Latin too much for him. Luther's revilers are of the same sort. They call themselves champions of the Holy See. If the Pope could hear them, he would shut their mouths in disgust. Oh that I could have spoken to the Pope about it ! I could have shewn him a better course for himself and the world than that which he has chosen. Curses and threats may beat the fire down for the moment, but it will burst out worse than ever. The Bull has lost Luther no friends, and gained none for the Pope. It makes men more cautious, but Luther's party grows stronger daily. Have no fear for me—I am no leader of a Revolution. I have had applications

enough, more than you would believe ; and if I had listened, things would not be where they are. But far from me is any such action. I have preached peace all my life, and shall not change my ways at the end of it. I am now bringing out St. Augustine's works, corrected and annotated. This done, I shall make it known somehow that I disapprove of rebellion. The Holy See needs no support from such a worm as I am, but I shall declare that I mean to stand by it.

To his English friend Pace he wrote :—Even if Luther had spoken everything in the most unobjectionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the truth. Not every man has the courage to make a martyr. I am afraid if I were put to the proof, I should imitate St. Peter.

It fell to the lot of Erasmus actually to see the Reformation carried out in the city where he dwelt, no less a place than Bâle. He was surprised to see how quietly it was all done. The reformers had gradually been growing more numerous on the Council or Senate of the city, and at length they found themselves in a majority. Thereupon they expelled their colleagues of the old faith, abolished the Mass, and established Lutheranism. Erasmus describes it thus to a friend :—

“ Smiths and carpenters were sent to remove the images from the churches. The roods and the unfortunate saints were cruelly handled. Strange that none of them worked a miracle to avenge their dignity, when before they had worked so many at the slightest invitation. Not a statue was left in church, niche, or monastery. The paintings on the walls were white-washed. Everything combustible was burnt. What

would not burn was broken to pieces. Nothing was spared, however precious or beautiful, and Mass was prohibited even in private houses. . . . The affair was less violent than we feared it might be. No houses were broken into, and no one was hurt. They would have hanged my neighbour, the Consul, if they had caught him, but he slipped off in the night ; not like St. Paul in a basket, but down the river in a boat. His crime had been that he had so long obstructed the Gospel. As it was, no blood was shed ; but there was a cruel assault on altars, images, and pictures. We are told that St. Francis used to resent light remarks about his five wounds, and several other saints are said to have shewn displeasure on similar occasions. It was strange that at Bâle not a saint stirred a finger. I am not so much surprised at the patience of Christ and the Virgin Mary."

This curious contemporary account of the manner in which the Reformation was carried out in Bâle may be fitly illustrated by a still more curious contemporary account of what took place in a part of Switzerland which so many of us know and love so well, the Engadine. I may quote from a description which I published in 1883. My information is derived from the contemporary history of Ulrich Chiampel, himself an actor in the affair. By good fortune he was engaged upon a history of Rhætia, and he and others have recorded details, such as no other country possesses, of the change of worship.

The struggle as a rule centred round the images. If the images were got rid of by fair means or by foul, the Mass went and the preaching came in. The means were more often foul than fair, and the details are usually quaint. At Campfer, a place very innocent

now of anything of the kind, there was a celebrated image of St. Roche, with a shrine of the highest sanctity. One winter's night three men passed with sleighs, and the last of them, being very strong and bold, dragged down the huge image, fastened it to the tail of his sleigh, and dragged it *multis cum cavillis* to Cresta, near Celerina ; which last place, by the way, mistaken tourists will persist in calling Chelerina, as if it were Italian and not Romanntschi. The Papists, of course, were furious, and they appealed to the ordinary tribunal. The people of Samaden, and other prudent persons, appeased them by taking care that the image was put back in its place ; but no one attempted to disguise the fact that Rochus, though restored, was *male habitus*. It was only for one day that he recovered his position. Jachem Muott (Romanntschi for James Hill) of Celerina, described in the record as St. Paul describes the Athenians in the English version, brought the family food to the restored Rochus to be blessed. He unluckily stumbled at the threshold and fell with the food. Forgetting his superstition in the presence of so great a catastrophe, he uttered unseemly words against the Saint. The priest rebuked him so severely, and the bystanders jeered him so much, that he forswore Rochus on the spot, and all other saints, and joined his fellow-citizens in putting down the images and establishing the reformed faith. At Celerina, which place, in union with St. Moritz, preserved the old religion longer than any other commune in the Upper Engadine, Johannes Zacconius was the priest, and all his life he sang the Mass. He was a highly respectable man, in proof whereof Chiampel adduces the fact that he was the father of several lawful children, a proof of respectability which the Re-

formers on their part were from the first very ready to afford. The assistant priest was Thomas à Castris, who had been brought up at Zürich, the great seminary of reformed doctrines, and there had learned better things. He made use of his access to the images at Celerina to make cracks in them, and mutilate them, and break them, and even to carry them off. People saw what was going on, but nobody dared to interfere, for the artful Thomas, who had not learned better things at Zürich for nothing, allowed it to be supposed that the images were being maltreated at the instigation of Frederick von Salis of Samaden, the Commissary of the Upper Engadine, whose relations were the great people of Celerina. Thus the way was paved for a change, so soon as the highly respectable Zacconius should leave his lawful children fatherless. This event occurred in 1576, when Celerina and St. Moritz by common consent allowed the Mass to follow their ruined images. The dwellers at the shrine of St. Moritz, we are informed, had for some time been inclined to hold out the hand to the gospel, but the constant influx of strangers from Italy to drink the waters kept up the old views. They succeeded, however, in ejecting the images of 1570, as a preliminary to the rejection of the Mass. This was twenty years after places in the neighbourhood had become reformed. The proceedings at Camogasc did not follow the same order. The people were so equally divided that they could not decide whether to elect a minister of the Word or a priest of the Mass. Each half chose for itself, the minister being Chiampel the historian, the priest usually a Bergamasque. The services were performed on alternate Sundays; but one Sunday both Chiampel and the Bergamasque appeared.

Neither would give way. At length Chiampel went up to the priest and asked him what the Mass was. The priest, after some cross-questioning, was constrained to say that the Mass was "*Summum scelus et injuria contra Christi meritum*," which his superiors would scarcely, one may suppose, recognise as an orthodox statement. Curiously enough this did not terminate the doubts of the commune. Chiampel migrated to Süs. Five years later the two halves agreed that they should take as their common pastor Christopher Chioerngias, who, strange to say, had been informally and impartially serving both parties without shewing his hand, and should leave it to him to decide whether Mass should be sung or not. *Nunquam amplius missificavit*, he never sang Mass again.

It is not at all easy to say what Erasmus held to be essential doctrines of Christianity. We know that he was surprised to find More satisfied with the evidence for a future life. He certainly had much sympathy with some of the views of Luther, though he hated his subversive methods. As late as 1519 Luther called him *decus nostrum et spes nostra*. That was three years after the New Testament appeared. Luther saw pretty clearly that Erasmus's egg would hatch out well. Erasmus would have all go on without a cataclysm, needful reforms being unsparingly applied, and the Christian spirit being reinfused into the Church system. Things had gone too far for that ; the sore was too serious and deep.

It must always be a difficulty, when mischief shews itself in the human part of the divinely appointed visible Church of Christ on earth, to know whether the mischief calls for a poultice or for the knife. Erasmus piagnosed for the poultice ; Luther for the knife.

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